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THE IRON AGE IN ITALY

THE SITULA OF THE CERTOSA

THE IRON AGE IN ITALY

A STUDY OF THOSE ASPECTS OF THE EARLY CIVILIZATION WHICH ARE NEITHER VILLANOVAN NOR ETRUSCAN

by

DAVID RANDALL-MacIVER, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.

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Publisher to the University

913.37
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Printed in Great Britain

PREFACE

IN the present volume I am continuing the plan, begun in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, of presenting in a systematic and classified form the most important extant material of the Iron Age in Italy. About one-half of the subject was covered by my first book, the geographical area of which extended over the districts of Bologna, Etruria, and Latium. This second volume deals with a far wider range of country, in which, however, the foundations of our knowledge are very unevenly distributed.

For Northern Italy, the subject of Part I, there is a considerable basis of reliable information. Este has long been famous for its rich and admirably arranged collections, even though they have been only partially described by the distinguished scholars who founded them. For Como and the Lake region the material in museums is scattered and far from abundant, but the careful studies of such local archaeologists as Castelfranco and Baserga have made it possible to weld it into a coherent whole.

The treatment of Picenum, which forms Part II, will be a novelty and surprise to most readers even in Italy. For, except in Brizio's memoir on Novilara, to which I have given a changed aspect in several important respects, there has never been any critical account of the antiquities of this region. Their date has been unknown, their affiliations unrecognized. The work of an unofficial archaeologist cannot, of course, go so far as to anticipate in any respect the proper governmental publications, and my account of the museum at Ancona is therefore necessarily briefer than might have been wished. But until the long-delayed official record is published, this summary sketch of an extraordinarily interesting phase of Italian culture will probably be welcome.

In Part III there is a change of style and method, rendered necessary by the paucity of material everywhere south of Latium and Picenum. Indeed the time is not yet ripe for any attempt at a unified description of the Iron Age in Southern Italy. It is only in Sicily that exhaustive investigations by Orsi have furnished a fairly complete picture of the pre-Hellenic civilization. The archaeology of Calabria was almost completely unknown in this respect until Orsi published, as recently as 1926, the memoir on which I have based my seventh chapter. For pre-Hellenic Campania our only trustworthy information is still derived from a

few dozen graves near Cumae and in the valley of the Sarno. And though the studies of Mayer and Gervasio have done much to elucidate the history of the pottery in Apulia, we are necessarily ignorant of everything except the pottery in all that extensive and important province. For these reasons I have been obliged to confine myself in Part III to the writing of essays of a more general character than those in the earlier part of the book. I can only hope that before many years there may be such a revival of archaeological interest as will lead to new excavations in the south and make it necessary to expand these chapters.

In addition to specific acknowledgements made in the text of the volume, I wish to express my thanks to the directors of all museums in which I have worked for their constant courtesy and kindness. Most particularly, however, I desire to express my gratitude to Senator Paolo Orsi for the unreserved generosity with which he has so characteristically placed his scholarship no less than his collections at my disposal.

The drawings which accompany the third chapter, on Como and the Lakes, were copied by Mr. G. D. Heard. All the other drawings, both originals and copies, except for a few direct reproductions, have been made by Mr. R. A. Cordingley, late holder of the Prix de Rome for Architecture in the British School. To his skill and unremitting interest I am deeply indebted.

D. R.-M.

All fibulae mentioned in this book are of bronze unless otherwise specified.

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I

INTRODUCTORY

THE inhabitants of Italy in the Early Iron Age must be divided into two racial groups on the basis of their burial customs. The first group consists of those who cremated their dead, the second of those who buried them in the ground. Of the two customs inhumation is the earliest, as throughout the Neolithic period cremation seems to have been entirely unknown. The whole peninsula, in so far as it was inhabited at all, was occupied down to the beginning of the Bronze Age by a population which was perfectly homogeneous in respect of its burial rite, whatever its ethnical composition may have been. But the invaders who brought the knowledge and the use of bronze from beyond the Alps disposed of their dead according to another fashion, which they had learned in their earlier homes among the forests of Central Europe, or upon the banks of the well-wooded Danube. The bodies were burned on a funeral pyre and the ashes, together with remains of offerings made at the burial, were placed in a large urn of pottery. Rows of these urns were then laid side by side in a separate area, which formed a village of the dead outside, though closely contiguous to, the settlement of the living. Such was the custom of the people of the Terremare, who occupied the whole valley of the Po on either side but, except for one or two quite isolated colonies, did not penetrate into Central or Southern Italy.

Towards the close of the Bronze Age we may conceive of the country north of Bologna as almost exclusively occupied by the cremating invaders, while south of that point it was still mainly in the hands of the original Neolithic inhabitants who buried their dead in the ground.

These two contrary and opposed customs persisted throughout the Early Iron Age, and continue to furnish the most useful clue to the main racial division of the peoples of the peninsula. For cremation is such a peculiar habit that we are certainly justified in associating together as a single generic unit all the tribes which practised it, if they are found within a continuous and closely delimited geographical area. And actually by the tenth century before Christ, when the new migrations of the Iron Age from the same transalpine countries were complete, the geographical limits of the two burial rites can be very sharply defined. This is shown by the map given in Plate I. The cremating peoples have now pushed farther south. Either the descendants of the Bronze-Age

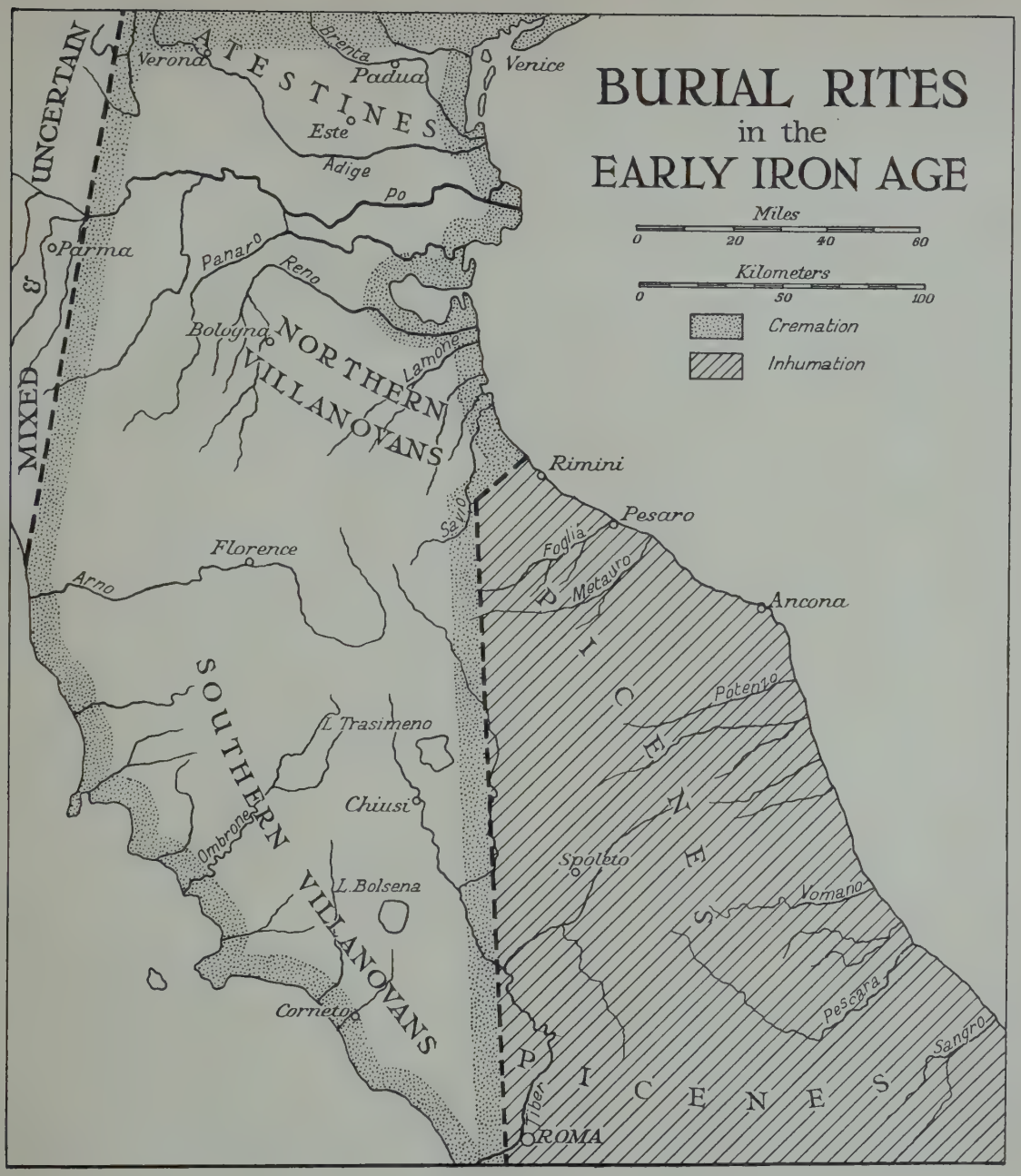
invaders, or more probably fresh hordes of kindred stock from the same ancestral homes, have occupied all the country about Bologna and the whole of Etruria and Latium as far as the Alban hills. I have chosen for the sake of clearness a time about a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the arrival of the Etruscans on the west coast.

It can be seen from this map that the whole area between two lines, of which one is drawn on the west through Verona and Parma to the coast near Pisa, while the other is drawn on the east as a vertical which ends at Rome, is occupied by cremating peoples. East of this vertical is the solid block of the Picenes, an exclusively inhuming people, while south of Rome the only rite is inhumation. On the west, for lack of evidence, I have marked Liguria and the Lake region as ' mixed and uncertain ', as the archaeological exploration of these regions is still too incomplete to allow of any safe generalizations. The cremating Comacines unquestionably occupied a considerable part of the Lake country, but it is impossible to say what was their numerical proportion, or whether they quite predominated over the Ligurian tribes which continued to practise inhumation.

Within the limits of the large region which is divided on the map between Atestines, Northern Villanovans, and Southern Villanovans, the cremating peoples are not merely in a majority, they are in an overwhelming majority. The original inhabitants had not been wholly extirpated or expelled, so that most of the cemeteries contain some earth-burials, but the proportion is exceedingly small, probably never more than 10 per cent. and generally less. East of the vertical from Rimini to Rome the inhumation rite absolutely excludes the other. Cremation is totally unknown among the Picenes of this date, for the single sporadic colony of Pianello died out without leaving any descendants. Similarly there is only one instance of a cremating settlement south of the Alban hills before the days of the Greek colonies. This is Timmari near Matera, which has disappeared from the map long before the tenth century. Rome itself is a meeting-place of various peoples, in which both rites are represented from the very earliest days.

The map in Plate 1 therefore demonstrates how a broad river of transalpine invaders has poured down from Istria and the passes of Tirol, submerging the Neolithic inhabitants as far as Rimini, and then turning to flood the whole western half of the country as far south as the Alban hills. Exactly why it stopped a few miles beyond the Tiber it is impossible to say, but this is its southern limit. On the east it was confined by a barrier which was not merely physiographic. A vertical drawn from Rimini to Rome does not coincide with the midrib of the mountain ranges, and in any case it would be absurd

Plate I


BURIAL RITES
in the
EARLY IRON AGE
Miles
0 20 40 60
Kilometers
0 50 100
Cremation
Inhumation
UNCERTAIN
MIXED &
ATESTINES
Verona
Brenta
Padua
Venice
Este
Adige
Po
Parma
Panaro
Reno
Bologna
NORTHERN
VILLANOVANS
Lamone
Rimini
Pesaro
Foglia
Metauro
Ancona
Savio
Florence
Arno
PICENES
Potenza
SOUTHERN
VILLANOVANS
L. Trasimeno
Chiusi
Ombrone
L. Bolsena
Spoleto
Vomano
Pescara
Sangro
Corneto
Tiber
ROMA

to maintain that the Apennines north of the Abruzzi offer any insuperable obstacle. We can only suppose that the transalpine immigrants were turned back by inflexible opposition from the Picenes, always a most warlike nation, who must have successfully resisted them behind their by no means insignificant defences of river and mountain. Also, perhaps the Picene country offered less temptation than Etruria, with its resources of copper and iron, or Latium, with its rich cultivable lowlands.

It is probable that the tide of invaders came in several waves ; the earliest evidence of them which has yet been found is at the southern end of their course, in the mountain region of Allumiere, in the Alban hills, and at Rome itself. A little later are the settlements of the Southern Villanovans all over Etruria, precisely contemporary with which are those of the Northern Villanovans around Bologna. Into Venetia between the Brenta and the Po came tribes distinct from the Villanovans, at a date apparently a little later ; while the north-western area from Lake Maggiore to Lake Garda was gradually occupied by immigrants from the Swiss highlands, who begin to filter in at the very dawn of the Iron Age.

The cremating peoples may be classed as three nations, Villanovans, Atestines, and Comacines, each distinguished by a strongly marked individuality of its own, though connected by the original bond of common descent. The best known of the three, viz. the Villanovans, has been fully described and discussed in my preceding book, entitled *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*. The second and third chapters of the present volume are devoted respectively to Atestines and Comacines.

The fourth chapter deals with the largest and most important section of the inhuming peoples, viz. the Picenes, who not only in their burial customs, but in many of the details of their material civilization, differ very considerably from their Villanovan and Atestine neighbours. There are many hints and suggestions of trans-Adriatic connexion amongst the Picenes, but I do not see sufficient ground in these alone to suppose that it is actually an ' Illyrian ' race ; while the later traditions of classical authors or alleged similarities of language are worthless as evidence for the Early Iron Age. The fact that the routes round the head of the Gulf of Venice were barred at this time by continuous migrations of the cremating races makes it hard to see how any considerable number of inhuming people could simultaneously have entered Picenum. And on the other hand, the force which checked the Atestine advance from the north and the Villanovan advance from the west presumes a large and homogeneous population occupying the Adriatic coasts of Italy before 1000 B.C. It seems most reasonable therefore to suppose that the Picenes were in no

sense newcomers, but simply the descendants of those old Neolithic stocks, which had occupied the entire peninsula before they were driven back and bound within these narrower borders.

The account of the Picenes closes the second part of this volume, and it is necessary to explain why the third part is comparatively brief, and seems to relax the rigid intensiveness which I have tried to maintain in the earlier chapters. The reason is that for North and Central Italy there has been an ample or even over-abundant quantity of detail, not always collated and published, but nevertheless available for any one able and willing to collect it. But south of a line drawn from the Alban hills to Aufidena there is a great scarcity of information about any of the pre-Hellenic peoples. Comparatively little exploration has been done at all, and only a slight proportion of what has been done relates to the Iron Age. Matera, so rich and important for the culture of the Bronze Age, contributes nothing to our period except the early cremation site of Timmari. Campania is unknown country except for the contents of a few dozen graves from the neighbourhood of Naples. Apulia offers some most interesting studies in relation to its pottery, but is tantalizing in the incompleteness of its material from every other point of view. Happily some recent excavations in Calabria have begun to throw light on that region, but we are only at the beginnings of anything like organized knowledge of the pre-history of Southern Italy. In Sicily alone the superb work done by Orsi, and the completeness of his excavations, make it possible to form some judgement as to the indigenous civilization which preceded and accompanied the establishment of the Greek colonies.

Where so much is conjectural, and there is so little solid basis for argument, I feel it necessary to be very cautious in theorizing as to races or even spheres of influence. Accordingly the third part is divided into chapters on a purely geographical basis, and no attempt is made to convert these into terms of ethnology.

NOTE.—In descriptions of fibulae it is always to be understood that the metal is bronze unless a definite statement is made to the contrary. It has seemed desirable to avoid the incessant repetition of the word.

PART I

NORTHERN ITALY: VENETIA AND LOMBARDY

II

ESTE AND THE ATESTINES

ESTE is a remote and quiet little market town in Venetia about forty kilometres south of Padova. It is not even on the railway line, and though a tramway connects it with the station of S. Elena, the occasional foreign tourist may reasonably consider Este somewhat inaccessible.[1] Nevertheless no archaeologist who intends to make a close study of the Iron Age in Italy can afford to dispense with at least one visit to this very rich and admirably arranged museum, which is absolutely our only source of knowledge for the pre-history of Venetia. For those who love literature there will be still another reward, for it was here that Shelley stayed with Byron and wrote his lines upon the 'Euganean hills', and only a few miles farther on is Arquà, where Petrarch lived and wrote.

That this isolated little place should have been the chief centre of civilization in Eastern Italy north of the Po, for at least eight hundred years before the Romans occupied Venetia,[2] would seem inexplicable to any one who was unaware of its geographical history. But we must remember that this very fertile tract covered with vineyards and fruit-trees masks a long line of sand-dunes which were only reclaimed and reduced to cultivation in the Middle Ages. This immense change is due to the alteration in the course of the Adige. The powerful and unruly river, which now flows fourteen kilometres south of the town, used to wash the very walls of Este. A writer of the fifteenth century describes from his own observation the six-arched Roman bridge which still spanned the old bed of the stream just outside what he calls the Capitoline gate; and in recent years not only the ruins of this bridge, but even the remains of dykes and hydraulic works have been found, with which the inhabitants in Roman times tried to curb the overflow.[3] That there was great necessity, all those will realize who know the character of the Adige as it is seen at Verona or elsewhere.

It was only in A.D. 589, when the extraordinary change took place known as 'La Cucca', that the river formed itself a new bed and left Este stranded far inland. Up till this time it must have been almost a seaport, with the same outlook and natural advantages as Adria, which lies a little farther south

[1] For those coming from the north the best way to visit Este is to stay in Padova and go out by the morning train to S. Elena, returning in the afternoon. Travellers from the south can reach S. Elena by staying for the night at Ferrara.

[2] The Romans peacefully occupied Venetia without conquering it in 184 B.C.

[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1882, pp. 5, 6.

at the mouth of the Po. And the Atestines [1] were so placed that they could enjoy all the opportunities for seaborne commerce, while at the same time they could pass by easy land-routes round the head of the gulf to Istria. On the south, moreover, they were protected by the broad and formidable Po, which was a sufficient barrier against all invaders. Even the Etruscans in the height of their power never invaded this 'Venetian corner', which is specifically excepted by Livy from the list of their conquests. When the Romans came they did not attack this well-defended people, originally connected with them by distant ties of kinship, of which, perhaps, some memory may have been preserved. Down to the beginning of the Christian era, after which we cannot follow them, the Atestines retained their own language and customs without molestation.

The Museum of Este

The merit of having discovered the ancient civilization of Venetia, which centred in Este, belongs to Alessandro Prosdocomi, who was, like his able pupil and successor Alfonso Alfonsi, born and bred in the place itself. To the lifelong devotion of these two men, aided and advised in due time by the ripe scholarship of Ghirardini, we owe the existence of the collections now so happily installed in the sixteenth-century castle which is the dominant feature of the town. And to their care and self-won scientific sense we owe an arrangement of the museum which is second to none in Italy for system and exactitude.

The cemeteries which Prosdocomi and his successor excavated from the year 1876 onward are situated all round the modern town. Though distributed over several estates they are probably only four in number. Those on the east, south, and west are placed in the sand-dunes beside the old bed of the Adige; but the northern cemetery, of which the principal focus is the Villa Benvenuti, lies on the slopes of the Colle del Principe.[2] In the present arrangement of the museum the finds from the eastern, western, and southern sites are exhibited in Sala B; and those from the northern in Sala C. The recently acquired Nazari collection from Morlungo, and the objects obtained in the latest excavations from any part of the town, occupy Sala E. In A are the finds from Stone- and Bronze-Age sites, and in D is the Baratela hoard of the Gallo-Roman period.

Now that the Nazari collection and others, which were at first retained by private owners, have passed into the museum of Este it possesses all

[1] I use the term in order to avoid discussing the question of the relative pre-eminence of Euganei, Veneti, or others.

[2] See the admirable map published by Prosdocomi in *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. i, which has been partially reproduced by Montelius in columns 273, 274 of his text.

the pre-Roman antiquities which have ever been found in the neighbourhood, except for the small series which formerly existed in the palace at Cattaio, and was transferred in 1906 to Vienna. The contents of a few tombs have been presented to the Museo Preistorico at Rome for purposes of comparative study.

Division into Four Periods

After publishing several preliminary notes and minor essays Prosdocomi brought out a very important article in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1882 (pp. 5–37), in which he laid down the lines of a classification into periods which has been universally accepted. The preceding six years of active excavation had yielded so rich a harvest that the material now amply sufficed for general deductions. Prosdocomi divided it into four Periods,[1] the characteristics of which, as he gives them, may be very briefly summarized as follows.

In the First or earliest Period the cremated remains were buried in a simple hole in the ground, accompanied by rough pottery made of unpurified clay and burned in an open fire. This pottery resembles that of the earliest period at Bologna, and is sometimes ornamented with incised patterns. The ornaments, very few in number, are all of bronze, and the fibulae are of the early bow form with very short catch-points.

As compared with the First Period the Second is remarkable for the striking improvement in the style and manufacture of the pottery, for the extraordinary increase of the bronze objects both in number and variety, and for the appearance of such new materials as amber, glass, and coral. Almost all the pottery is wheel-made, and of much finer clay than before; it is often ornamented with little studs of bronze arranged in geometrical patterns. The fibulae are sometimes of the thickened bow form engraved with lines, and sometimes they are bows threaded with discs of amber or bone. More often, however, they are boat-shaped and handsomely engraved. There are knives and other implements of iron as well as bronze, fine bronze swords, and engraved bronze belts. The usual form of tomb is an oblong receptacle made of six roughly shaped slabs, within which stands a pottery ossuary either of biconical shape or, more often, simply conical. For the Third Period the most striking characteristic, according

[1] On the site of the Villa Benvenuti in the excavations of 1879 Prosdocomi found distinct stratification, with the Roman period at the top and each of the others in order below it. But the distribution of the material between the different levels was certainly not so precisely delimited as his Plate, tav. ii, in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1882 might lead the reader to suppose. Soranzo on the Nazari site also found stratification, but a careful reading of the text in his *Scavi e scoperte nei poderi Nazari di Este* brings out at once that the divisions of strata do not correspond exactly to the divisions of periods. This is only to be expected and does not in any way invalidate Prosdocomi's reasoning. But it means that the classification must be governed by the character of the objects alone, and that the depth at which they were found is only a rough guide.

to Prosdocomi, is the extraordinary excellence of the metal-work, as shown especially in the bronze ossuaries and girdles with their marvellously executed figures in repoussé and engraving. The pottery is entirely different from that of the Second Period; bronze-studded vases are very rare, and in place of them appears a new technique of decoration, in which the vases are painted with alternate bands of red and black outlined by strongly moulded ridges in relief. Imported Greek vases are found for the first time, as well as local imitations of the Greek. Iron is used quite prodigally for weapons and implements. Fibulae are all long-shanked, the three principal forms being the boat, the serpentine, and the bow threaded with amber or bone. The usual form of tomb is still an oblong cist made of stone slabs, but these are more carefully worked than in the preceding period.

The Fourth Period is extremely different from the others. It retains only a few traces of the brilliant culture of the Third, and passes immediately under a foreign influence which is almost certainly Gaulish. All the striking and distinctive features of the native Atestine life have passed away; almost the only link with the past is the continuity of the tomb-structure and the type of burial.

Chronology of the Periods

Ghirardini, in 1888, when discussing the Euganean inscriptions of the Baratela collection, finds himself obliged to define in broad general terms the chronology of the Third and Fourth Periods.[1] His conclusions are that the Fourth Period covers the whole of the third century B.C. and part of the second century. And that the Third Period, which is in the main contemporary with the Certosa cemetery of Bologna, begins about 450 B.C. and ends a little before 300 B.C.

I accept this dating as founded on thoroughly sound reasoning, but prefer to introduce one slight modification. Instead of making the Third Period begin at 450 B.C. I shall make it begin at 500 B.C. This can be managed, without doing any violence to the museum classification, by merely including in the Third Period several tombs which Ghirardini calls ' intermediate between second and third '. It is a distinct gain in clearness if we can abolish these intermediate stages, which have now sufficiently served their purpose of allowing a certain amount of elasticity in the system. And, pending any more exact delimitation, I shall consider the Third Period to end at 350 B.C.

The *beginning* of the Second Period I shall place at 950 B.C., which is the same date that I have given for the beginning of the Second Benacci at Bologna.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, pp. 324, 325.

The First Period of Este

In his articles written in 1888 Ghirardini had no occasion to delimit the chronology of the First Period. In various other passages of his writings, however, he makes hints and allusions which show a distinct inclination to equate the First Period of Este with the First Period of Benacci; and these suggestions have been fastened upon rather too eagerly by others, who have not had the opportunity to test the evidence. It will probably be a great surprise to any one who visits Este to find that the whole case for the very existence of a First Period is based on little more than the evidence of a single tomb. It is indeed true that there are seven tombs in rooms B and C [1] which the discoverers attribute to this period, but four of them contain nothing except unconvincing pottery, a fifth has only pottery and a wire bracelet, and a sixth has only a fibula and some pottery. It must be admitted, indeed, that in the last instance the fibula is a very good dating object, as it is a semicircular bow with very short catch-point. But almost the only tomb which could not possibly be explained away is no. 2, which contained a large variety of objects and constitutes our only sound authority for speaking of a ' First Period ' at Este.

This tomb 2, fully illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 50, is certainly far older than Second Benacci, and it might quite reasonably be dated to First Benacci. But I have come to the opinion that it is really still more ancient, belonging properly to that pre-Benacci time which is represented by the transitional sites of Bismantova and Pianello.[2] And this opinion is corroborated by the very close resemblance of the contents of tomb 2 to the contents of a grave found at Lozzo, five miles from Este, in the immediate neighbourhood of a settlement which indubitably belongs to the Bronze Age.[3]

Tomb 2 was found in the western cemetery during excavations made in 1877,[4] and is briefly described by Prosdocomi in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1882. The grave was a simple hole in the ground, within which there were two pottery ossuaries, of which the most important is shown here as Fig. 1. It will be seen that it is of distinctly Villanovan type, but resembles rather the very early form found at Allumiere than the more developed Bolognese ossuary.[5] In the Lozzo grave, however, the jar is more sharply biconical, and approximates very closely to the Bologna standard. The fibulae are extremely archaic; one of them, Fig. 3, is the semicircular slightly thickened bow which occurs in

[1] Viz. Nos. 2, 39, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132.

[2] Described in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 94–8 with Plate 19.

[3] See *Not. Scavi*, 1905, pp. 289–300.

[4] It contains objects numbered in the museum catalogue as 1687–1724.

[5] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 18, nos. 16, 18.

the earliest graves of the Forum at Rome ; another, Fig. 2, is still more ancient in type, recalling with its bamboo-knottings the fibulae of Tolfa and Allumiere. A fibula very similar to Fig. 2 was found in the Lozzo tomb. These, then, are the objects by which the dating must be fixed, and they are perfectly diagnostic. If it were not for the occurrence of an iron ring and another small piece of iron in grave no. 2 at Este, I should have little hesitation in calling it pre-Benacci. The other objects illustrated by Montelius, viz. the pottery bird-chariot, the bronze bracelet, and bronze pendant, are indecisive for dating, though interesting in themselves and quite consistent with the very archaic character of the tomb.[1]

FIG. 1. Pottery ossuary. After *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. iii. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

Besides the seven graves which Prosdocomi assigns to the 'First Period', there are five more which have been classified as 'transitional between the First and Second Periods'.[2] These are distinctly later than grave 2, and might quite as reasonably be assigned to the beginning of the Second Benacci period as to the end of the First. Of the five other 'First Period' tombs which contained nothing but pottery, it can only be said that the style of the pottery is not inconsistent with the date assigned to them ; but it does not by any means forbid their being assigned to the Second Period, in which there are some unquestioned tombs which contain no less primitive examples.

It has been suggested that the prehistoric village found at Canevedo[3] belongs to the First Period, and there is no objection to this if it is understood that by 'First Period' we shall mean *pre*-Benacci. The pottery from Canevedo is very rough and archaic ; the bronze objects are a spearhead and two fibulae of the twisted-bow form. Unfortunately, it does not seem to be quite certain whether a piece of iron scoria actually belongs to the village-site or not. This settlement, then, might quite well be contemporary with grave 2 and with the Lozzo grave ; it is perhaps a trifle later than the village site of Lozzo.[4]

Now the pre-Benacci sites of Allumiere, Bismantova, and Pianello, with which I have compared grave 2 of Este, belong to the very dawn of the Iron Age, if not to the latest stages of the Bronze Age. They cannot, therefore, be dated any later than about 1200 B.C. On the other hand, the beginning of the Second Benacci is not earlier than 950 B.C. So that even allowing a certain

[1] The reader must remember that no. 11 in Montelius's Plate 50 is not from this tomb.

[2] Viz. nos. 131, 133, 134, 135, 136.

[3] Described by Prosdocomi in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xiii, pp. 156–67 and 185–201 with illustrations.

[4] The Lozzo village is described in *Not. Scavi*, 1903, pp. 537–49.

amount of elasticity to the rather uncertain limits of these very early stages, there is evidently a long gap, of something like two centuries, for the filling of which practically no material has yet been obtained from Este. And even if we consent to throw into the gap every one of the very poor tombs which the museum classifies as 'First Period', the results for our knowledge are perfectly insignificant, for these give us nothing more than about a dozen plain pots and bowls without either character or interest. We must be content, therefore, to await the results of future excavations before claiming to have

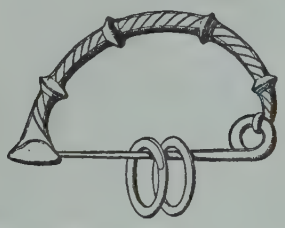


FIG. 2. Bronze fibula. After *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. iii. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

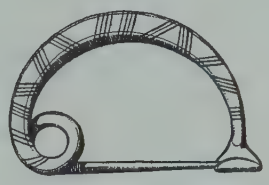


FIG. 3. Bronze fibula. After *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. iii. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

any real knowledge of the Iron Age at Este earlier than 950 B.C. It is quite possible, however, that there may be very little more to learn. I have suggested in my earlier book that the Atestines were probably the latest of the Villanovan family to arrive in Italy, and perhaps they did not reach their new homes before 950 B.C. Certainly unless sufficient new material is provided we should be very slow to accept the claim that the civilization of Este is homogeneous and uninterrupted from the Bronze Age to the Roman Empire.

The Second Atestine Period

With the Second Atestine period, which there is good reason for considering to begin at virtually the same moment as the Second Benacci in Bologna, we reach firm ground. From that time onward there is abundant material. The following pages will therefore be devoted to a description of the Second and Third Periods, covering the 600 years from 950 to 350 B.C. The Fourth Period, which is comparatively poor and uninteresting, lies outside the chronological limits of this volume.

The Second Atestine period is extremely rich and varied in its material. It covers about four and a half centuries of time, viz. from about 950 B.C. to about 500 B.C., when the well-defined Third Period begins. Within this wide range I propose to distinguish four stages, marked by the occurrence of objects for which the dating has already been established at Bologna. For although

the Atestine civilization is quite independent, and has numerous points of difference from the Villanovan as well as of resemblance to it, yet there are many characteristic forms which are common to both series. And from these it is possible to deduce the existence of commercial relations, and to prove certain general synchronisms. Thus in the two tomb-groups which have been chosen to illustrate the Second Period in Plate 2, most of the fibulae, weapons, and implements have their exact counterparts in the Bolognese cemeteries of the Second Benacci.[1] On the other hand, of course, there are some objects at Este even in the Second Period which do not occur at Bologna, and there are many at Bologna which are unknown in Este.

First Stage of the Second Period

The tomb-group 236 in Plate 2 is one of the very earliest in the Second Period of Este.[2] For it contains one of those well-known antennae-swords which occur at Hallstatt, and are generally considered to have been imported into Italy from Central Europe. These swords are known both in the First and Second Benacci periods at Bologna, and have been found as far south as Vetulonia and Corneto. Possibly their long survival may be explained by the supposition that such valuable weapons were passed down from father to son for two or three generations. Even on the Etrurian sites, however, they are not later than the eighth century, while at Bologna they are sometimes as early as the tenth. Some other objects in tomb 236 confirm my view that this tomb is nearer to 900 than 800 B.C.; for the engraved fibulae, nos. 8 and 9, belong to a type which disappears after the earliest stages of the Second Benacci, and the bronze hilt of the knife, no. 2, is of a very archaic type, though its iron blade proves it to be within the Second Benacci range.

To the ninth century, therefore, I assign tomb 236, and shall call this century the ' First Stage ' of the Second Period at Este.

There are two other antennae-swords in the Este collections. One of these was found by Soranzo in the southern cemetery of Morlungo, and is shown here as Fig. 4.[3] The tomb in which it occurred was what the author calls a ' vaso-tomba ', or large receptacle of bronze, twenty-two centimetres in diameter at the base, of which the upper part had been broken to fragments. Within the receptacle were a large bronze bowl, also broken to fragments,

[1] Nos. 1, 3, 7 can be matched from Plate 5 and no. 21 can be matched from Plate 10 of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, while close parallels to 8, 9, 17, 18, and 22 can be seen in Montelius, Plates 77, 79. Axes like 10 and 11, though different from those found in the actual graves at Bologna, occur in the Depot of San Francesco—see Montelius, Plate 67. The ossuaries 24 and 27, so far as mere form is concerned, are very similar to those of the latest Second Benacci and earliest Arnoaldi.

[2] Northern cemetery. Objects 7820–7896.

[3] Soranzo, op. cit., tav. vi and pp. 8, 18, 19.

parts of a bronze axe, a bronze pike with tubular socket like no. 1 in Plate 2, and six cylindrical beads covered with gold leaf.

The third sword is precisely similar to that in Fig. 4, and has a bronze scabbard. It was found by Alfonsi on the site of Caldengo in the northern cemetery. The whole tomb-group is exhibited in Sala E under the number 302. It includes rough black pottery of very primitive technique, but of shapes unknown before the 'Second Atestine' period, such as the flattened biconical ossuary (cf. Plate 2, no. 24), and the high-stemmed 'fruit-stand'. The metal objects are a winged bronze axe with side-ring and the iron sheath of a knife.

These two tombs, therefore, corroborate the evidence of 236. They show objects of very archaic character, yet distinctly later than the First Benacci period, associated with a free use of iron which is impossible before the Second

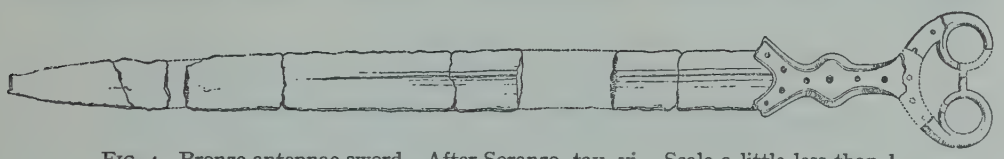


FIG. 4. Bronze antennae-sword. After Soranzo, tav. vi. Scale a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$.

Benacci. So that it seems eminently reasonable to place them all three in the ninth century.

It is interesting to note the proofs that commercial intercourse existed at this time with the Danube on the one side and with Bologna on the other. The most distinctively Bolognese object in 236 is the semi-lunar bronze razor, no. 7, which is extremely rare at Este. Bronze head-pins, a wheel-shaped bronze pendant, and a necklace of blue glass beads with yellow circles, form part of the same tomb-group and are all very familiar at Bologna. Other objects are no doubt of local manufacture, and there is no reason to consider them imported; the situla, no. 14 in Plate 2, is a very important example. It is made, like all these large vessels, from sheets of bronze hammered by hand and then bent over and fastened with rivets. This is a craft which was well known at Bologna, but the situlae of Este are very different from the Bolognese. There will be occasion to discuss them more at length in a later part of the chapter; here it is sufficient to point out that the example in tomb 236 is the only one known at Este which is furnished with side-handles.[1] The Bolognese situlae have usually swing-handles like our modern buckets, while those of Este have seldom any handles at all.

[1] Ghirardini well compares it (*Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 34) with the Rivoli situla, reproduced by Montelius in his Plate 48, no. 10, which has similar side-handles and similar pendants.

The bronze baton, no. 4 in Plate 2, is composed of seven bronze tubes, no doubt laid over a core of wood, originally covered as it would seem with gold leaf. Soranzo illustrates a similar object in his Plate VII, no. 4 (Montelius, Plate 57, no. 7), and says that it was found in a cist-tomb with bronze-studded pottery, bronze rings, an amber bead, and beads of blue glass streaked with yellow. Though peculiar to Este, such batons are not confined to this period, but will be found also in the Third. Nos. 12 and 13 are examples of highly polished black ware decorated with geometrical designs filled in with white; while no. 15 is the earliest instance of that bronze-studded decoration which is the most peculiar characteristic of the entire Second Period.

Other objects from 236, not illustrated in the plate, are three pottery situlae of black ware decorated with rows of bronze studs, a number of handled dippers similarly decorated, two wavy-bladed bronze knives, fragments of bronze strainers, fragments of ivory bracelets.

Second Stage of the Second Period

Certainly early in the period, but not quite so early as the three tombs containing the antennae-swords, are tombs 8, 47, 69, 143, 235. These all resemble one another in respect of their fibulae, which have the very short catch-points that disappear in the later part of the Second Benacci. I would class these five tombs as belonging to the Second stage, and assign their date as eighth century.

The most important object in tomb 8 [1] is a very fine bronze girdle, broken into three pieces, lightly engraved with a pattern of spirals and wheels. It is quite different in form from the engraved girdles which will be described in the Third Period, but precisely resembles the well-known examples of Bologna and Corneto.

Besides the girdle, tomb 8 contained three thin-bodied leech-fibulae with short catch-points, and a boat-fibula with catch-point of medium length, bracelets of overlapping bronze wire, polished black pottery, including a pottery situla decorated with bronze studs, and some large amber beads.

Another girdle of the same shape and style, but from a different cemetery, is published by Prosdocomi in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1882, and is reproduced here as Fig. 5.

The resemblance to a Bolognese example which I have published in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 4, no. 4, is so close that the two might almost have been produced by the same hand. Indeed, the only difference

[1] Western Cemetery, objects 1846–77.

consists in the addition of the three little knives which may be seen on the left of Fig. 5, but which do not occur in the other. The decorative motive of a disc with serpentine appendages on each side has interested both Ghirardini and Undset, who suggest that it may be derived from the Egyptian sun-disc. It occurs again on situlae at Este, as well as on the girdles found at Bologna and Corneto.[1]

Girdles of the same shape, but with a simple ornamentation of rows of bosses in repoussé, continue into the Third Period—they may be observed in tombs 29, 262, 263—but the more usual model in the Third Period is the lozenge-shaped plaque attached to a leathern belt.

Tomb 47[2] contains a boat-fibula with short catch-point, a wavy-bladed bronze knife, a ribbon-handled bronze bowl perforated for use as a strainer, bronze spools bound round with gold wire forming part of a baton like Plate 2,

FIG. 5. Bronze girdle. From Montelius, Plate 52. After *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. iv. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

no. 4, two plain cups of black ware, a little cup studded with a circle of bronze bosses, and a high fruit-stand of the same black ware incised with geometrical patterns which are filled in with white.

Tomb 69[3] has one fibula of the slightly thickened bow form with short catch-point, and another of the rare kind with a body formed of flat ribbon shaped like an olive-leaf. With these were overlapping bracelets of bronze wire, one large black pot of situla form, and two smaller ones of the same shape.

Tomb 143[4] contained a large set of black pottery with some unusual forms, three of which are illustrated in Plate 3 as nos. 9, 14, 22. Besides those illustrated there were an ossuary of the shape given in Plate 3, no. 23, a bowl shaped like Plate 3, no. 22, but decorated with bronze studs on the shoulder, and two small handled cups, one of which was ornamented with white zigzags. With these were a curved bronze pike like that seen in Plate 2, no. 1, fragments of bronze wound round with gold wire, perhaps from a baton, a bronze semi-lunar razor, a full-bodied sanguisuga fibula, and a navicella fibula, both with short catch-points.

[1] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 14, or Montelius, Plate 281.

[2] Western Cemetery, objects 3354–72.

[3] Northern Cemetery, objects 4808–75.

[4] Northern Cemetery, objects 6340–83.

The richest tomb of the eighth century is 235,[1] which is illustrated in Plate 2, nos. 16–27. The four large pots are very characteristic, and are most definitely native Atestine work, though the shape of nos. 24 and 27 is also found at Bologna at just the same date. On no. 27 there is a square maeander decoration, which in a Bolognese jar of the period would have been incised with a point in the wet clay. Here at Este, however, it is done in a fashion wholly peculiar to the place, with little studs of bronze which are set in the clay before burning, and come out of the fire firmly imbedded in the fabric. A similar technique has been employed for the decoration of nos. 16 and 23, which are the commonest and most typical forms of ossuary in all stages of the Second Period. Of the three fibulae, which have very short catch-points, no. 17 is virtually a duplicate of the specimen shown in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 8, no. 2, with its little hanging chains; while nos. 18 and 19 are well known on the Bolognese sites. The knife, no. 21, and the adze, no. 22, prove the common use of iron, and complete familiarity with the working of it.

Third Stage of the Second Period

It has now been made clear, by my numerous comparisons and parallels, that the First and Second stages of this period at Este must exactly correspond to the entire Second Benacci period of Bologna, defined as approximately 950 to 750 or 700 B.C. It is the Arnoaldi period of Bologna then that will answer to the Third and Fourth stages of the Second Period. There is no difficulty in recognizing the Fourth stage, in which all the fibulae have very long shanks and belong to types that are thoroughly characteristic of the latest Arnoaldi; but it is less easy to find salient examples for the Third, which must actually cover the greater part of the time, say from 750 or 700 down to nearly 550 B.C.

Reasoning by the method of exclusion, however, we may argue that all tombs containing fibulae intermediate in type between the short catch-point and the very long-shanked catch-point must fall within the interval of 750 to 550 B.C. And on this basis there will be a large number, even if many are eliminated as containing too little material for exact grading. As the best examples, I would select the four tombs 58, 63, 65, 141, and proceed to describe them.

In tomb 58[2] there is a fine set of pottery, three examples of which are illustrated in Plate 3, nos. 1, 4, 20. The large ossuary, no. 20, is noteworthy for its handle; it is of black ware decorated with a design of lines and chevrons impressed with a string; the little circles in a line round the neck are stamped

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 7778–7819.

[2] Northern Cemetery, objects 4622–49.

in the clay with the end of a stalk or reed; they must not be mistaken for metal bosses. This is evidently the same specimen which is given by Montelius in his Plate 53, no. 10. Besides the illustrated examples there is a large plain ossuary of form similar to no. 23 in Plate 3, and a situla of the same black ware decorated with bronze studs in the form of square maeanders and chevrons. Also a high fruit-stand, undecorated, and two little ribbon-handled cups of black ware which are studded with bronze. The fibulae have catch-points of medium length, and are of the boat form with distinct side-buttons.

Tomb 63 [1] has also a fine set of pottery. First, there is a large ossuary of the shape shown in Plate 3, no. 23, and two pottery situlae like that in Plate 3, no. 13, all three of which are decorated with bronze studs. One of these situlae has become red instead of black, from an over-burning which was probably accidental. Next, there is a high fruit-stand, which has been similarly burned to red instead of black. Then there is a bowl, belonging to a class which has not occurred before, in which there is a decoration of vertical strips painted brown-black on a slightly lighter background of the same colour. This is a ware which will be noticed in the next chapter as characteristic of Golasecca; it is illustrated again by the bowl in no. 23 of Plate 3. The smaller objects were a little cup decorated with bronze studs, a bronze head-pin, overlapping bracelets of bronze wire, and iron bracelets. The fibulae were of the boat type with catch-points of medium length.

In tomb 65 [2] there were two situlae of black pottery, each decorated with a single row of bronze studs; two fruit-stands, a bowl, and two cups of plain black ware; a little dipper of black ware ornamented with a row of bronze studs surmounted by a rosette of similar bronze studs. With these were a bronze head-pin, a small bronze knife, some fragments of iron, and a boat-fibula of almost lozenge shape, but with only rudimentary side-studs. Tomb 144 [3] contained a fine set of the usual polished black pottery. Four examples of this are shown in Plate 3 as nos. 2, 5, 7, 15; another resembles no. 20. There are also four pottery situlae of various sizes, all decorated with zones of bronze studs, one of them having in addition a swastika formed of bronze studs on its front.[4]

To this stage should also be referred a tomb in the Nazari collection containing a bow-fibula threaded with pieces of bone inlaid with amber, in a style familiar at Bologna in the Arnoaldi period. The fibula is illustrated

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 4716–37.
[2] Ibid., objects 4763–85.
[3] Northern Cemetery, objects 6384–446.
[4] The small objects are a little bronze-studded cup, a bronze head-pin with globular top, a bronze and an iron bracelet of annular form, and fibulae of boat shape with catch-points of medium length.

by Soranzo in his Plate II, no. 5, which Montelius has copied in his Plate 51, no. 5. In *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 8, no. 13 shows the Bolognese equivalent.

Fourth Stage of the Second Period

This stage, marked by fibulae with a very long catch-point, includes tombs 28, 49, 70, 72, 78, 89, 122, 149, 150, 155, 233. To take them in the order of their numbering:

Tomb 28[1] is chiefly interesting for its fine bronze situla covered with a bronze bowl. The situla, of which the decoration is shown in Fig. 6, served

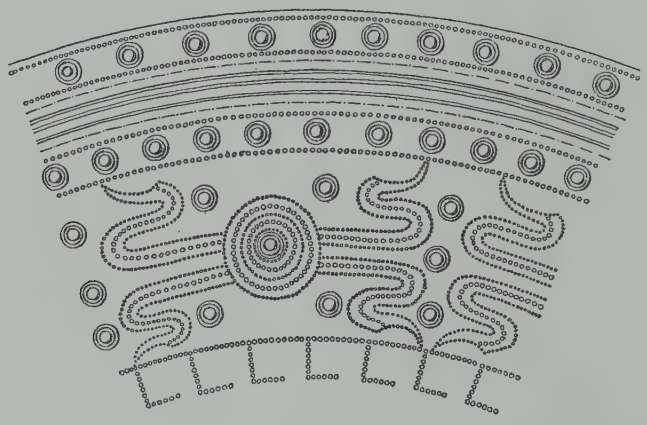


FIG. 6. Pattern on bronze situla. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 21.

as an ossuary, and contained long-shanked boat-fibulae with incipient side-buttons, overlapping bronze bracelets, a bracelet of sheet bronze with little bosses in repoussé, small bronze rings, bronze arrows, buttons, fragments of an iron axe, and a little triangular pendant of bronze with the figure of a horseman stamped upon it. These objects are illustrated by Ghirardini in Plate I of *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. vii, as nos. 6, 7, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.[2] There were also parts of a necklace of small yellow glass beads mixed with amber beads, and a spindle-whorl of blue glass with white lines.

Tomb 49[3] contains no fibulae, and its chronological stage in the Second Period is therefore not positively fixed, but from the abundance of bronze and its character the attribution to this stage seems to be fairly safe. Unfortunately the bronze vases, of which there are several, are too fragmentary to be reconstituted; it is possible to recognize a bowl and parts of a situla, also some fragments decorated with a repoussé design more or less like a scorpion

[1] Western Cemetery, objects 2475–501. [2] He calls the tomb no. 99 (cols. 26, 27).
[3] Western Cemetery, objects 3402–31.

between rows of repoussé bosses. There is a fine horse-bit and three winged axes of bronze, one of which has a ring at the side, the bronze butt of a spear, and some very large bronze head-pins.

Tomb 70 [1] has a black pottery ossuary of the type given in Plate 3, no. 23, with a plain situla, situletta, and cups, and a four-legged tray (cf. Plate 3, no. 1), all of the same ware. The bronze objects are a small knife with bone handle, three head-pins, an overlapping wire bracelet, a boat-fibula with side-buttons, and three very small fibulae with rather long catch-points. On the back of one of these small fibulae is carried a duck, and on another there are three ducks.

Tomb 72 [2] has only five pots of black and blackish-red ware, viz. a large and a small situla both decorated with a row of bronze studs on the shoulder, a plain situletta, a bowl, and a fruit-stand. With these are boat-fibulae with extremely long catch-points.

Tomb 78 [3] contains an ossuary and bowl which are illustrated in Plate 3, no. 10. These are unusual, for the ossuary is of a haematitic red instead of black, while the bowl is ornamented with vertical lines of the same red laid on a slightly lighter background. A smaller ossuary of the same shape, but black, and covered with a plain red bowl, was found beside the first, and there were several smaller pots of the usual black ware. The ornaments were overlapping bracelets of bronze wire, a bronze distaff, a necklace of very large amber beads, and another necklace of small shell beads alternating with carnelian. No doubt belonging to the last necklace were small pendants of stone and of bronze, as well as a bronze disc ornamented with concentric circles of repoussé bosses and covered with gold-leaf like the disc in Plate 7, no. 13, from the Benvenuti tomb. The chronological place of this set is well established by its very-long-shanked boat-fibulae.

Tomb 89,[4] which is one of the latest in the period, is remarkable for its pottery situla. This is bright red in colour, and instead of being decorated with bronze studs it is ornamented with bands and swastikas in white paint, which reproduce just the same effect as the patterns used in the bronze studs. The other pots are a plain bronze situla, a small red accessory pot, and a bowl in which vertical bands of clear black are laid on a lighter background. With these are a fine bronze distaff with globular head, and a large boat-fibula of bronze, on which there are hung two bangles of iron.

Tomb 122 [5] has been described by Ghirardini in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. vii, cols. 15–20, and the objects from it are illustrated in Plate 1 of that volume.[6]

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 4876–916.
[2] Ibid., objects 4926–46.
[3] Ibid., objects 5040–84.
[4] Ibid., objects 5252–71.
[5] Ibid., objects 5895–933.
[6] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, tav. i, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8–16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 30. Ghirardini calls this tomb 22.

The bronze situla, decorated with repoussé bosses in lines and concentric circles (Fig. 7), was used as an ossuary, and contained besides the cremated ashes a number of objects. The most important of these are a bronze fibula and a necklace. The fibula, which Ghirardini illustrates as no. 14 in his plate, is long shanked, and has its body formed by three animals, presumably horses. This is a valuable corroboration of the dating for a very fine bronze fibula with three horses, two of which are mounted by cavaliers, which was found on the same site in 1842. It is illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 51, no. 4, and is at present placed in the same case as the objects from the famous Benvenuti tomb with the figured situla. The necklace (Fig. 8) is composed of very small beads of white and greenish glass paste, alternating with larger beads of amber, with pendants of bone and of bronze. The bronze pendants are merely triangular plaques ornamented with little repoussé bosses, but the bone pendants are very remarkable. They seem to be schematic representations of human figures; Hoernes calls them representations of the Carthaginian goddess Tanit.[1] Without venturing on such precise identifications, I think it is worth pointing out that they are probably objects of foreign importation, the first instance that has been detected at Este of an overseas trade with the Mediterranean.

FIG. 7. Bronze situla. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 2. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

The other small objects in the tomb were the strange handle of bronze surmounted by the figure of an animal shown in Montelius, Plate 57, no. 9, an iron knife, bronze arrow-head, and several long-shanked fibulae, principally of the boat form. There was a pottery situla and bowl as well as some cups and other bowls all of black ware.

Tomb 149[2] contained an undecorated situla of black pottery with its bowl, a second situla with small vertical ridges of raised clay on the shoulder, fruit-stands and a bowl in the other style of ware with dark vertical strips on a lighter background, and three little handled black cups decorated with running spirals and in one case with the figure of a dog in bronze studs (see Plate 4, nos. 1, 2). There were apparently three necklaces, one of discoid glaze beads alternating with wedge-shaped glaze pendants, another of glaze beads alone, and a third of wedge-shaped pendants of bronze. With these were an iron knife, the top of some bronze ornament surmounted by a small duck,

[1] *Mittn. der prähistorischen Commission der kais. Ak. der Wissenschaften*, i, p. 103. Contrast the opinion of Salomon Reinach in *L'Anthropologie*, 1894, pp. 43–51.

[2] Northern Cemetery, objects 6516–65.

and a number of bronze fragments, amongst which can be distinguished a head-pin and bracelets both of the overlapping and of the annular types. Of bronze fibulae there were three kinds, viz. a long-shanked boat form, a horned serpentine, and a fibula with its body formed of two horsemen like that referred to in tomb 122. Besides these there was a serpentine fibula of iron.

Tomb 150 [1] contained the black-pottery ossuary shown in Plate 3, no. 23, covered with a bowl of the new type of ware which has vertical lines of dark varnish on a lighter ground. The other pots, viz. three situlette, three bowls, and a little cup, are of black ware, and the cup is studded with bronze. The fibulae are boat shaped, with very long shanks.

FIG. 8. Necklace of glaze and amber beads with pendants of bronze and bone. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, tav. i. Scale ½.

Tomb 155 [2] has a set of pottery which all belongs to the same class of polished black ware, except that its large globular ossuary has turned partially to red, and its two situlae have turned wholly to red from overburning. A little handled cup in this tomb carries the remarkable design in bronze studs of two running dogs facing one another, and a second little cup is ornamented with bronze spirals. There are very long head-pins, an annular bracelet, and two perforated strainers of bronze. The fibulae are of long-shanked boat form, except for one plain wire bow threaded with a large piece of amber.

Tomb 233,[3] which is one of the very latest in the Second Period and is classed in the Museum as transitional between Second and Third, contains a very rich equipment of the studded pottery. The most remarkable piece is a situla decorated with a square maeander on the shoulder and a running spiral beneath it; a very similar but not identical specimen is shown by Montelius in his Plate 58, no. 7. With this were a situletta, on which only a few bronze studs had been preserved in place, four small handled cups decorated with scrolls, rosettes, and, in one case, with the rough figure of a dog in the same technique. Of other pottery there were a red ossuary and bowl of the type shown in Plate 6, no. 12, a high fruit-stand of red ware, four little four-legged dishes of red ware, a very small black pot, and fragments of black ware painted with geometrical designs in white.

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 6566–83.

[2] Ibid., objects 6631–65.

[3] Ibid., objects 7653–86.

The situla of tomb 233 had no doubt been enclosed within the tall bronze ossuary of type very similar to that in the Franchini tomb (cf. Fig. 10), beside which stands another smaller situla of bronze. Small objects belonging to the tomb are a little bronze knife, a model knife of bone, a bronze skewer, a bronze disc coated with gold-leaf, iron bracelets, and an iron pointed implement. A necklace of discoid glaze beads is notable as having a number of little green glaze pendants hanging from it, which are shaped like pseudo-Egyptian gods or Osiris-figures.

The description of the Second Period may appropriately be closed with a brief reference to a tomb found in 1907–9 on the Rebato estate in the northern cemetery. The results of the excavation are exhibited in Sala E of the museum, but the tombs concerned have not yet received their consecutive numbers in the museum series. For present purposes, however, it will be sufficient to refer to this simply as ' the Rebato tomb '. The great interest of it is that it contained a situla decorated with plain rows of bosses, the cover of which was ornamented with a beautiful zone of animals in repoussé (Fig. 9).

With the situla were found long-shanked boat-fibulae which date it to the Fourth stage of this Period, so that it is the earliest figured bronze from Este, though very little earlier than the Benvenuti situla. It is, however, the first certain product of the new school which has emerged from the geometric tradition and taken the great step forward to naturalistic representation.[1]

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1922, pp. 46–9.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 2, 3

PLATE 2. ESTE. *Two tombs of the Second Period.*

Contents of Tomb 236.

No. 1, bronze pike ; no. 2, iron knife with bronze handle ; no. 3, bronze antennae-sword ; no. 4, bronze tubes coated with gold-leaf, forming a baton ; no. 5, bronze saw ; no. 6, bronze stand ; no. 7, bronze semi-lunar razor ; no. 8, engraved leech-fibula of bronze ; no. 9, small leech-fibula of bronze ; nos. 10 and 11, bronze axes ; nos. 12 and 13, black pottery with geometrical designs incised and filled with white ; no. 14, bronze situla of hammered plates ; no. 15, black pottery with a single row of bronze studs round the rim.

Scale of nos. 1 and 5 is $\frac{1}{5}$; of no. 3 is between $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 2, 4, 6, 7 is $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 8 and 9 is $\frac{3}{8}$; of nos. 10 and 11 is $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 12, 13, 14, 15 is $\frac{1}{7}$.

All drawn from originals in the museum at Este by R. A. Cordingley.

Contents of Tomb 235.

No. 16, black pottery ornamented with bronze studs ; no. 17, bronze fibula bored with holes for pendants; no. 18, bronze leech-fibula; no. 19, bronze boat-fibula with side-buttons ; no. 20, small bronze chain used as pendant ; no. 21, iron pike ; no. 22, iron axe ; no. 23, black pottery with a single row of bronze studs round the rim ; no. 24, ossuary of black pottery ; no. 25, black pottery ; no. 26, bronze bowl ; no. 27, ossuary of black pottery, ornamented with pattern in bronze studs.

Scale of nos. 16, 23, 24, 25, 27 is $\frac{1}{7}$; of nos. 17, 18, 19, 20 is $\frac{3}{8}$; of nos. 21, 22, 26 is between $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$.

All drawn from originals in the museum at Este by R. A. Cordingley.

PLATE 3. ESTE. *Typical pottery of the Second Period.*

Nos. 1, 4, and 20 are black ware from tomb 58 ; nos. 2, 5, 7, 15, black ware from tomb 144 ; no. 3, brown-black, and no. 21, red, with striped brown bowl, are from tomb 156 ; no. 6, black, from tomb 154 ; no. 8, red, and no. 13, black, are from tomb 122 ; nos. 9, 14, 22, all black, are from tomb 143 ; no. 10, black ossuary with double-burnished bowl, striped with plum-colour on pink, from tomb 78 ; no. 11 is black, from tomb 155 ; no. 12 is from tomb 149 ; nos. 16 and 17 are brown, from tomb 66 ; no. 18, black, from tomb 150 ; no. 19 is black, from tomb 146 ; no. 23, a brown-black ossuary covered with a double-burnished bowl, decorated with lines of dark red on light ground, from tomb 150.

Scale throughout $\frac{1}{8}$th.

All drawn from originals in the museum at Este by R. A. Cordingley.

ESTE. Two Tombs of the Second Period

ESTE. Typical Pottery of the Second Period

Origin and Connexions of the Atestines

It will be evident from the description of the contents of the graves that Este in its Second Period had attained a high degree of civilization, maintained a considerable trade with its neighbours, and had developed numerous arts and crafts of its own. The inhabitants were a cremating people belonging to the same great racial family as those Villanovans who had settled in the Bolognese and in Etruria and Latium soon after the beginning of the Iron Age. All these came from Central Europe and the Danube, dispossessing the aboriginal neolithic inhabitants who used the burial rite of inhumation, and superseding the people of the Terremare, who were their own kinsmen of an earlier immigration. I do not hold with some Italian writers that the Villanovans are merely the grandchildren of the Terramaricoli, nor do I consider that Prosdocomi has proved his view that the civilization of Este is homogeneous and unbroken from the beginning of the Bronze to the close of the Iron Age. Rather I believe that the several cremating nations, Villanovans, Golaseccans, Comacines, and Atestines, descended upon Italy from the Alps independently and in several waves at distinct periods. The earliest were the Villanovans, and the latest were the Atestines.

The attempt to prove that the First Period of Este is contemporaneous with the First Benacci of Bologna seems to me, as far as at present evidence goes, to have broken down. The very few tombs which can be ascribed to the 'First Period of Este' belong almost as much to the close of the Bronze Age as to the opening of the Iron Age. They are precisely of the same character as the transitional cemeteries known as Bismantova and Pianello, the date of which cannot be much later than the twelfth century B. C. Between these and the 'Second Period of Este' is a gap of fully two hundred years which there is nothing to span. Future discoveries of course may link up the two periods, but in the present state of our knowledge we can only be justified in observing that there is a complete breach of continuity. So that unless new cemeteries can be found which shall contribute a new class of evidence we must continue to hold that the date of the settlement of the Atestines in their new Venetian home is not earlier than the moment when the Second Benacci period begins at Bologna.[1]

[1] For which in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* I have suggested 950 B. C.

Relationship of Este to Bologna

That the Atestines were related by a more or less close cousinship to the Bolognese is proved by the complete identity not only of their cremation rite but also of the details in the manner and form of their burial. Tombs in the Second Period at Este are of two kinds, viz. either simple round holes in the earth or, more frequently, rough cists made of six flat slabs, generally surmounted by a stela. These are precisely the two forms used at Bologna. Within the tomb was placed an ossuary, sometimes of bronze but more often of pottery, which contained the ashes of the cremated person together with the implements and ornaments that were buried with him. It is only natural that the earliest form of Villanovan ossuary should be exceedingly rare at Este,[1] but a derivative shape which is in use at Bologna in the eighth century is quite frequent (Plate 2, nos. 24, 27), though in both regions the situla is beginning to displace it at this time.

In the contents of the graves also there is very great similarity between the Bolognese and the Atestines. Weapons and implements, whether of bronze or of iron, are almost always of the same shapes. All the varieties of the fibulae are identical in both regions, and follow precisely the same steps in their evolution. They begin with the plain bow, which soon becomes the thickened bow, and is followed by the leech and the boat forms. The leech and the boat acquire gradually longer catch-points, and are accompanied in their later stages by several varieties of long-shanked serpentine fibulae.

Not only in the use and fashion of their fibulae but also in the style of their dress and adornment the two nations must have had very similar habits, for there are the same bronze girdles, the same patterns of bracelets and necklaces and head-pins, the same use of amber and glass beads. Yet there are some individual types which are found at Bologna without occurring at Este, notably the wide-splaying bronze axes, the tintinnabula, the bronze censers, and the tall bronze hydria-forms which are found in the cemeteries of Sant' Isaia (see *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plates 5, 7). And there is no trace at Este of that Etruscan inspiration which in the eighth century had brought certain new motives into the metal work of Bologna, and had enriched its range of ornament with occasional examples from the goldsmiths' shops of Vetulonia. Etruscan influence, never very strong in Este, does not begin before the end of the sixth century with the foundation of the Etruscan colonies on the east of the Apennines.

[1] One example is recorded from the lowest stratum of the Nazari excavations. See Soranzo, op. cit., tav. v and p. 67.

In respect of metal work it would seem that Bologna and Este were two separate and independent centres. Large bronze ossuaries are found at Este even in the earliest graves of the Second Period, and there is nothing in their form to suggest that they were imported or even imitated from imported models. The situlae of Este are of different types from the Bolognese, though the technique of manufacture is naturally identical at a time when the known processes were so few and primitive. Everything goes to show that the Atestines arrived in Venetia with a fully developed knowledge of the early art of working in hammered bronze plates, which they probably brought with them from their original homes.

Trade with Danube—Slightness of other Commerce

Trade with the regions of the Danube is proved by the occurrence of the Hallstatt swords, while the abundant amber from the Baltic must have come by the same route and probably passed round the head of the Gulf by land, rather than by sea. For there is no evidence at this date of any overseas traffic ; the absence of Aegean products is quite significant, and the possibilities of Este as a seaport had not been realized by the carriers of Greek merchandise. The northern part of the Adriatic was still apparently a closed sea, and any commerce with the near East passed round the southern coast and so up to the Etruscan settlements on the west.

An occasional object may have found its way to Este from Etruria by way of Bologna, and Ghirardini has suggested that the curious technique of decorating pottery with studs of bronze originated in Etruria.[1] But the tendency when Ghirardini first wrote was to overestimate the range of Etruscan influence, and it is time to redress the balance and give fair consideration to the non-Etruscan elements in north-Italian culture. After all, the case of the Hallstatt swords proves that the Etruscans were sometimes indebted to the Danube, and it is probable that the bronze girdles found at Corneto and Vetralla were not Etruscan but Bolognese work. It was from Bologna and not from Etruria that the girdle shown as Fig. 5 was derived, unless indeed it was actually manufactured in Este.

Pottery of the Second Period

The Faliscans made a peculiar hobby of bronze-studded pots, but there is no reason to suppose that the manufactures of Falerii and Narce exercised any appreciable influence on those of Este. On the contrary, the abundance

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, cols. 66–199, in connexion with a minute study of the whole subject of bronze-studded ware.

and variety of this pottery in Este proves that it was a local manufacture which owed nothing except perhaps the mere suggestion of the process to any outside influences.[1]

In Plate 4 are shown six characteristic examples of cups and ossuaries decorated with bronze studs. The pottery is a black ware which owes its pigmentation to the process of burning in an open fire that did not consume its smoke, but allowed it to percolate into the very substance of the clay. This is what I have called elsewhere the 'black Mediterranean ware', which is found in so many regions during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. With the introduction of kilns and better methods of firing it is often displaced by red wares produced in smoke-consuming fires; but at Este, as in many other places, the old black ware continues in use side by side with the newer kinds, and it may be observed in a good many graves down to the end of the Third Period.

Red ware, except for occasional specimens, probably attributable to the over-burning of a pot intended to be black, scarcely occurs in the Second Period. A new style of decoration, however, begins to come into vogue about the third stage of the Second Period. In this the body of the jar or bowl is of a brownish or reddish tint, instead of the lustrous ebony of the older ware, and on the light background are painted vertical stripes in a darker brown or brownish red. This is a style which was very commonly used in the region of Lago Maggiore, and there will be occasion to mention it very frequently in the next chapter when I deal with the civilization of Golasecca.

Pottery of the Third Period

The beginning of the Third Period is marked in the first place by a wholly new departure in pottery technique. This is the sudden appearance of a ware painted with red ochre and graphite in alternate zones of cherry-red and lustrous black, the margins between each zone being defined by raised ridges of clay in relief. This decoration, which is even more distinctive of Este than the bronze-studded vases of the Second Period, was sufficiently admired to be occasionally imported into Bologna by the Etruscans of the Certosa settlement. But the resident of Este presently began to consider it too plain for his own taste, so that he sometimes added a stamped ornament of circles or quatrefoils (nos. 15, 22, 23, of Plate 5), or even an incised design of chevrons. This, however, is exceptional; the normal tomb-equipment of the period consists of one or two situlae or situlette, and one or two smaller vases, all in the simply banded

[1] See, for the Faliscan manufactures, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 179.

red and black style. Examples of this style may be seen in nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, of Plate 5, which exhausts the principal varieties.

The pottery fashions of the previous period have not wholly disappeared. Bronze-studded jars are indeed extremely rare, and there are only one or two examples, of which the most important is the fine ossuary from tomb 27, shown in Plate 4, no. 6, elaborately decorated with maeanders and spirals. But the original plain black pottery persists side by side with newer fabrics; plain red pots are quite frequent, and there are a good many examples of the 'Golaseccan ware' with its dark brown vertical stripes on a light ground.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 4, 5

PLATE 4. ESTE. *Pottery decorated with bronze studs.*

Nos. 1–5 belong to the Second Period ; no. 6 belongs to the Third.

Drawn by R. A. Cordingley from photographs taken in the museum at Este.

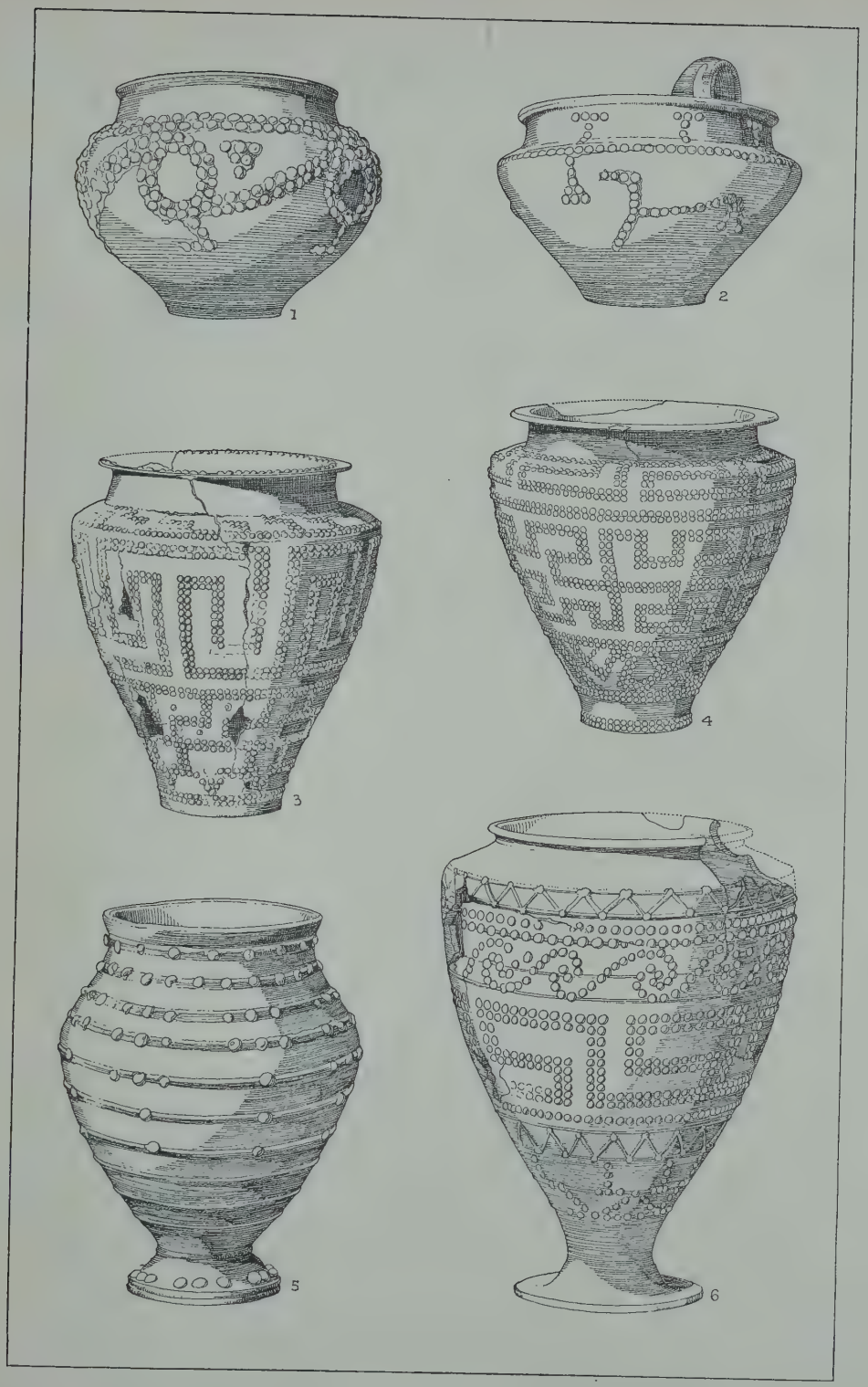
Scale of nos. 1 and 2 a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$; of nos. 3–6 about $\frac{1}{4}$. The numbers of these examples, according to the inventory of the Este Museum, are 2374, 2371, 4962, 5089, 6394, 2469.

PLATE 5. ESTE. *Pottery of the Third Period.*

No. 1, banded black and red, from tomb 194 ; no. 2, similar, from tomb 193 ; no. 3 is uniform blackish red, from tomb 218 ; no. 4, banded, from tomb 218 ; no. 5, plain, from tomb 196 ; no. 6, banded, from tomb 220 ; no. 7, plain black, from tomb 198 ; no. 8, stamped, from tomb 27 ; no. 9, red pot with red striped bowl, from tomb 215 ; no. 10, rough red ware from tomb 29 ; no. 11, plain brown, from tomb 187 ; no. 12, black, from tomb 18 ; no. 13, red, from tomb 232 ; no. 14, black, from tomb 201 ; no. 15, banded red and black with addition of stamped ornament, from tomb 29 ; no. 16, plain red, from tomb 197 ; no. 17, plain rough red, from tomb 186 ; no. 18, banded black and red, with white lines painted inside the rim, from tomb 232 ; no. 19, banded, from tomb 210 ; no. 20, banded, from tomb 196 ; no. 21, striped vase and bowl of Golasecca style, from tomb 234 ; no. 22, banded red and black with addition of stamped and incised ornament, from tomb 212 ; no. 23, banded red and black, with addition of stamped ornament, from tomb 216 ; no. 24, plain red, from tomb 225 ; no. 25, banded red and black ossuary, with bowl striped in vertical lines of dark on light, from tomb 198 ; no. 26, banded, black and red, from tomb 212 ; no. 27, banded red and black, from tomb 211 ; no. 28, banded, red and black, from tomb 218.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$th throughout.

Drawn from originals in the museum at Este by R. A. Cordingley.



ESTE. Pottery decorated with Bronze Studs

ESTE. Typical Pottery of the Third Period

Beginnings of the Third Period

The very earliest stage of the Third Period is admirably exemplified by tombs 159 and 160,[1] the contents of which are shown in Plate 6. That we have entered on a new phase of Atestine culture is shown by the banded red-and-black pot, no. 6 in the plate. In no. 23 can be seen what is perhaps the first step in the production of this ware, a fruit-stand of which the stem is all black, but the bowl is red with a black rim. The bronze-studded vases, nos. 1 and 18, show that the old fashion is still retained; they are almost the last examples. The fibulae are very long-shanked boats, serpentines, boats with pronounced side-studs, or lastly quadrangles of thin wire, all exactly characteristic of the latest stages of the Arnoaldi at Bologna. But the Certosa fibula has not yet appeared, which shows that the date is not later than the very beginning of the fifth century. To the objects described in Plate 6 should be added a bronze head-pin and bracelets of overlapping bronze wire in each grave as well as an iron knife in grave 160.

These two tombs are classified in the museum as 'intermediate between the Second and Third Periods'. There is no longer any purpose in maintaining the term 'intermediate'. I have therefore abolished it in my treatment, and by including these and similar tombs in the Third Period have arrived at a more convenient arrangement, which makes the Third Period begin not at 450 but at 500 B. C.

The Benvenuti Tomb—Contents and Date

Exactly contemporary with 159 and 160 is the most famous of all the tombs discovered at Este.[2] This is the one that will be called for purposes of distinction 'the Benvenuti tomb', because although many others were found on the same Benvenuti estate they can be cited by their mere inventory numbers, and it is useful to have an unmistakable title for a subject which will be very frequently mentioned. All the objects of any importance, except the pottery, are shown in Plate 7, where the centre of interest is the bronze situla ornamented in three zones of repoussé work with scenes portraying the daily life and occupations of the Atestines or their neighbours. Before discussing this, however, it will be well to consider the other contents of the tomb.

It can be seen at once that fibulae 9, 12, 15 are precisely the same that were found both in 159 and 160, and also in the latest graves of the Second

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 6691–718 and 6719–63. Excavations of 1879 and 1880 objects numbered 6182–238.

[2] Found in the garden of the villa Benvenuti.

Period. The Certosa fibula, on the other hand, has not appeared, for no. 18, which at first sight may seem to resemble it, is not really a Certosa form.[1] A peculiar variant of the serpentine, not quite to be matched elsewhere, is seen in no. 14. No. 16 appears to be unique, except for some analogies in Istria.[2] Three other fibulae not illustrated in my plate should be mentioned; two of them are very large open boat types engraved with lines and dots; the third is a simple wire safety-pin from which hang three little chains.[3]

In all there were nineteen fibulae, all of bronze, but no types different from those which have been described.

Some of the ornaments, as Ghirardini has pointed out, have their very close analogies in grave 122, which was described in the latest stage of the Second Period. Such are the necklace, no. 10, composed of small round glass beads of different colours, interspersed with small pieces of coral, from which hang triangular bronze pendants; and the fibula, no. 11, in the form of an animal. Others, like the bracelets, no. 6, the bronze baton, no. 17, and the gilded disc, no. 13, as well as the bronze head-pin and iron knife, can be readily paralleled from other tombs of the Second Period. So far indeed it might be said that everything suggests the Second Period, and there is no hint of a later date. But it is the pottery which betrays the change.

There were two pottery ossuaries, one of which was placed inside the bronze situla; this was painted all over with red ochre, and has two bands of black graphite, the one at the foot and the other on the rim. A second and slightly larger ossuary, which stood outside the bronze situla, is shown in no. 5 of Plate 7; it is plain red with burnished lines, and has a covering bowl striped with vertical lines of burnishing. Three situlette which accompanied these are regularly banded with alternate black and red zones in the fully developed manner of the Third Period.

It is evident, then, from the character of its contents that the famous Benvenuti tomb belongs to the Third Period, but to the very beginning of it. And the evidence of the tomb furniture is perfectly corroborated by the stratification in which it occurred.

Prosdocomi, describing the discovery of the tomb,[4] has given a section, which Montelius reproduces in column 291 of his text. At the top was a Roman road, and below this a tomb of the Third Period, under which was a skeleton

[1] The nearest analogies are from Orvieto, see nos. 148 and 151 of Plate XI in Series A of Montelius.

[2] Marchesetti, *Scavi di S. Lucia*, tav. x.

[3] The other objects not illustrated in my plate are a large bronze head-pin, four plain annular and three penannular bracelets, and an iron knife with bone handle.

[4] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. vi, tav. iv and pp. 84, 85. For a description of the contents of the tomb see not only this number of the Bulletino but also *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 18–27, with illustrations. Montelius reproduces the principal objects in his Plate 54 and gives the full inventory in cols. 291–4 of his text.

extended at full length. In the next layer was the Benvenuti tomb, constructed in the usual way of six flat slabs, outside which was piled the débris of the funeral pyre. Beneath the Benvenuti tomb were two graves of the Second Period. The occurrence of the skeleton should be noted, and this is the best occasion for referring to the inhumation burials of which a certain small percentage seems to occur in all the Atestine cemeteries. The anomaly may be explained either by supposing that they are the burials of an earlier people who retained the old inhuming rite of the Neolithic Age, or by considering that they were slaves killed on their master's tomb and accorded no honours in their burial.

It is important that the date of the Benvenuti tomb should be so exactly established, because the figured bronze situla found in it is one of the landmarks of North Italian art in the Iron Age. It is one of a very small group in which the artist attempts a more ambitious subject than animals or floral motives, and sets himself deliberately to record the scenes of everyday life. The other examples with which it is to be compared are the two found at Bologna, known respectively as the Certosa and the Arnoaldi situlae, several from the Eastern Alps, and one from Watsch in Carniola. Ghirardini maintained that the Bolognese examples were actually produced at Este, a view which must now be abandoned, as will be shown in a later section. The Benvenuti specimen, though strongly influenced by Etruscan models, is probably the work of Atestine craftsmen, who in turn educated their northern neighbours.

The evidence of its contents, then, places the Benvenuti tomb almost precisely at 500 B.C. Ghirardini has suggested that the situla is actually older than the tomb in which it was found. This argument may be allowed only if we are quite clear as to the limits within which it is employed. The objects buried in a tomb may, as every excavator knows, belong to either of two classes. They may have been manufactured especially for the burial, or they may be the dead person's ornaments and other possessions which he has used during his lifetime. Unquestionable instances occur of both practices. If, then, any article in the grave shows signs of much wear or damage, it is fair, as Montelius has pointed out, to remember that it may have been made for its owner at any time during his lifetime, and a possible extension of dating, which ought never to exceed forty years, may be allowed for such an article. Therefore, in a tomb dated precisely to 500 B.C., the situla may be of any date between 540 and 500 B.C., but cannot be earlier or later. Applying the same reasoning to the Certosa situla, we shall find that its date must lie between 520 and 480 B.C., so that these two are either exactly contemporary with one another or, more probably, the Certosa situla is a short generation later than the

Benvenuti. All the others are quite appreciably later, the Arnoaldi and Watsch being generally attributed to about 450 B.C., and the Tyrolese group to the fourth century.

Description of the Benvenuti Situla

The Benvenuti situla, Plate 7, no. 7, is 31 centimetres high, 14 centimetres in diameter at the base, and 22 at the top, composed of two sheets of hammered bronze fastened together by vertical rivets in the usual fashion.[1] The base, which has perished, must have been a separate piece attached to the sides. All the decorative work on the sheets must of course have been executed before they were fastened together, the technique being repoussé, with contours in engraving. The figures of men and animals are arranged in three zones, each zone separated from the next by rows of little bosses in relief.

In the top zone is a succession of scenes evidently taken from the daily life of the country people. On the left a horse, which the salesman or attendant holds by the tail and one leg, is being exhibited to a dignified person seated in a high-backed chair and clothed in long robe with wide-brimmed hat. Next to this is a scene of feasting; a man standing on a stool holds out a cup in the direction of two men clothed like the first. Behind this man two situlae are seen actually depicted as hanging by ropes from a cross-barred stand at the other end of which hangs a ribbed cista. On the ground the hoe is resting, and a third situla stands under the shelter of a bush. On the right of the feasters are two boxers, and to the right of these again are mythological animals, perhaps to be named as lion, eagle, and centaur, separated by conventionalized trees or bushes.[2]

The second zone is entirely composed of animals, except for one man swathed in a long cloak, from which only the head and one hand emerge. He is seated in or under a tree, and holds an ox-goad in his hand. In front of him the ox is pasturing, and behind the man is his dog tied by a leash to the tree. The herdsman, unlike the man of property in the top row, wears no hat. In the right half of the scene, behind the dog, are a winged sphinx or griffin, a goat, and a stag with branching horns.[3]

These two zones may be interpreted in general terms as portraying the usual life of peace-time with its interests and avocations. The third zone obviously dramatizes a scene of triumphant warfare. On the left is a trumpeter seated on a tree-trunk, who is menaced by a foot-soldier with a spear. Next

[1] The drawing which I reproduce from Montelius somewhat distorts the shape of the situla, which is more faithfully rendered by Ghirardini's photograph in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, col. 9.

[2] The animals and plants are studied in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 11–15.

[3] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 15–17, with illustrations of the animals.

to this a second spearman confronts a man riding in a two-wheeled chariot, behind whom come foot-soldiers wearing crested helmets, and each equipped with two spears and a round shield. The second of these leads by a rope a captive with tied hands, who carries a shield but no spear. Separated from these by a tree or bush is another foot-soldier, armed and equipped like the others, who leads two bound captives, one on each side of him.[1]

There is much in the general conception and in the detailed treatment which must remind us of scenes engraved on bowls or carved on ivories from Etruscan tombs of the seventh century, and yet there is much also that shows a new spirit and a new choice of subject. It will be better, however, to postpone any discussion as to origin and influence until the time comes for examining the Certosa situla.

The Arnoaldi Situla of Bologna

In Plate 10 is given an illustration of the Certosa situla. In this place therefore it will be useful to give for purposes of comparison a reproduction of the other figured situla from Bologna known as the Arnoaldi.

FIG. 8 *bis*. The Arnoaldi Situla of Bologna. Scale a little more than $\frac{1}{3}$.

The inferiority of style in comparison with the Benvenuti or the Certosa examples is very noticeable. It is evident that two generations of copyists have successively degraded the subject and have robbed the scenes of all their dignity and much of their vigour.

[1] The best representation of these scenes is in the large-scale drawing by Cordenons in the publication by Leo Benvenuti called *La situla Benvenuti nel museo di Este* (Este, folio 1886). This, however, is difficult to find. The reduction from Cordenons' drawing made by Montelius and reproduced in my Plate 8 is the next best.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 6, 7

PLATE 6. ESTE. *Two tombs of the Early Third Period.*

Contents of tomb 159.

No. 1, black pottery with ornamentation in bronze studs; no. 2, bronze clasps; no. 3, boat-fibula of bronze with pendants; no. 4, black pottery with ornamentation in bronze studs; no. 5, iron knife with bone handle; no. 6, banded red-and-black pot; no. 7, bronze model axe hung as pendant on fibula (viz. on no. 3); no. 8, bronze rings; no. 9, red pottery bowl; nos. 10, 11, 12, black pottery.

Scale of nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, is $\frac{1}{7}$; of nos. 2, 3, 7, 8 is $\frac{3}{8}$; of nos. 4 and 5 is $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$.

Contents of tomb 160.

Nos. 13–16, bronze fibulae; no. 17, bronze ossuary covered with bronze bowl; no. 18, black pottery with ornamentation of bronze studs; no. 19, brown pottery covered with brown bowl; nos. 20, 21, 22, black pottery; no. 23, red pottery with black rim; nos. 24–6 and 28, black pottery; no. 27, bowl striped, in Golaseccan style, with vertical lines of dark red-brown on a background of lighter brown.

Scale of nos. 13–16 is $\frac{3}{8}$; of nos. 17–28 is $\frac{1}{7}$.

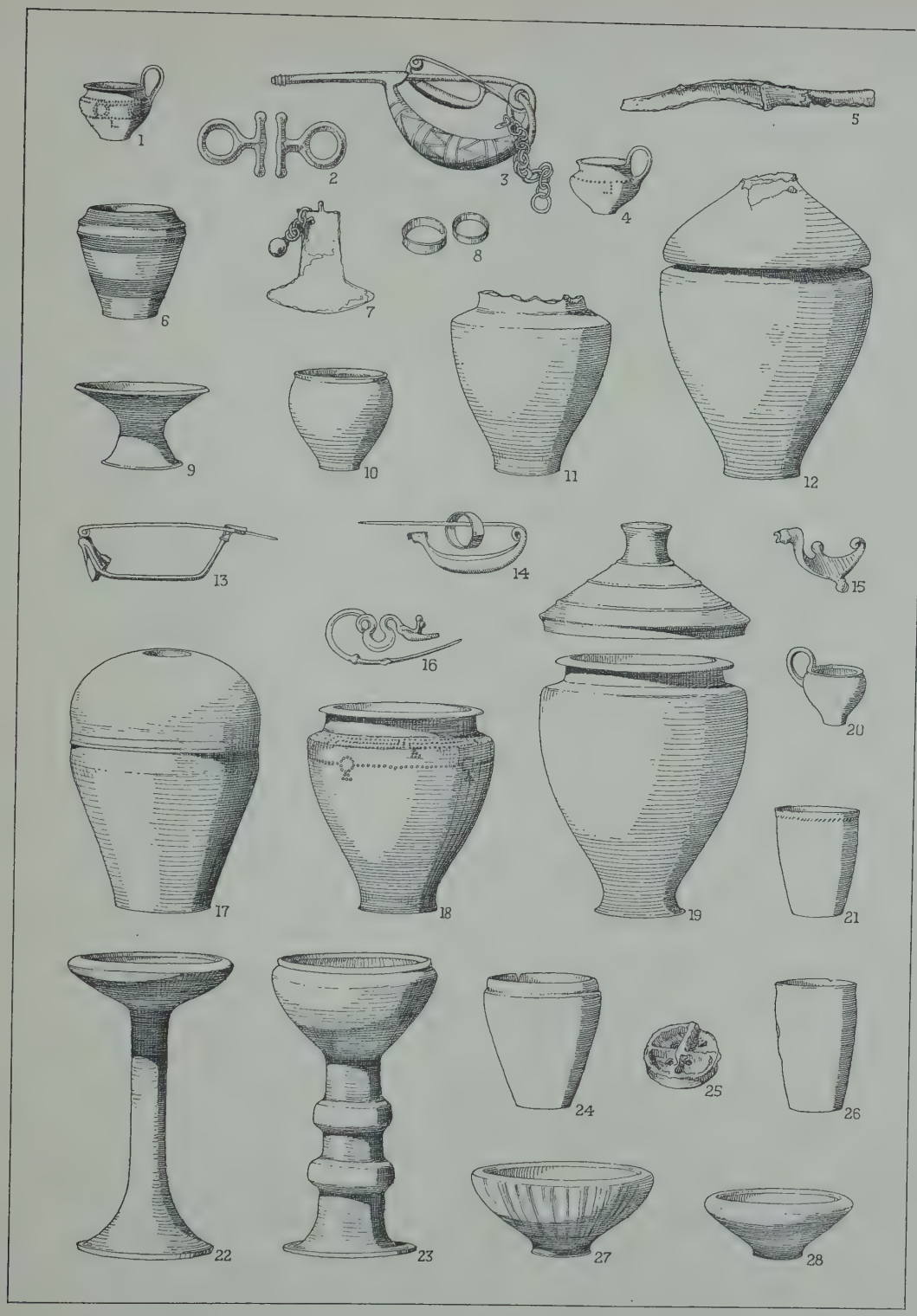
All drawn from originals in the Este museum by R. A. Cordingley.

PLATE 7. ESTE. *Contents of the Benvenuti tomb.*

No. 1, bronze button; no. 2, bronze hook; no. 3, bronze button; no. 4, bone spacer bored for strings; no. 5, pottery ossuary with pottery cover; no. 6, bronze bracelet with pendants; no. 7, bronze situla with repoussé figures, plain bronze cover; no. 8, striped pottery, Golaseccan style; no. 9, bronze fibula with bronze pendants; no. 10, necklace of glass beads and coral beads with seven pairs of bronze pendants; nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, bronze fibulae; no. 13, bronze disc covered with gold leaf; no. 16, bronze fibulae, almost unique; no. 17, part of wooden baton covered with bronze; no. 19, design on a bronze bracelet.

Scale of nos. 1 and 3 is $\frac{4}{5}$; of nos. 2, 6, 9 is $\frac{1}{4}$; of nos. 4 and 19 is $\frac{3}{4}$; of nos. 5, 7, 8 is $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 11, 14, 17, 18 is $\frac{1}{2}$; of no. 12 is $\frac{1}{3}$; of nos. 13, 15, 16 is $\frac{3}{8}$.

Reproduced from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Plate 54.



ESTE. Two Tombs of the Early Third Period

ESTE. The Benvenuti Tomb

Tombs Contemporary with the Benvenuti

Contemporary with the great Benvenuti tomb are the graves numbered as 83, 124, 232, 234 in the museum. From the first of these [1] comes the necklace of large globular amber beads separated by striated tubes of bronze, shown by Montelius in his Plate 57, no. 6, with the comb-shaped pendant of bronze attached to it. This was accompanied by seven overlapping bracelets of bronze wire, consisting of one coil only, parts of a bronze baton, long-shanked boat-fibulae, a wire fibula threaded with pieces of bone, and a small wire bow-fibula with little chains hanging from it. The pottery consisted of a red-and-black banded ossuary, together with several small jars in which a background of grey is decorated in 'Golaseccan style' with bands and lines in black varnish.

No. 124 [2] contained a plain bronze ossuary of the same style and dimensions as the one shown in Plate 6, no. 17, covered in the same way with a bronze cap. With this were a pair of smaller plain bronze situlae and two little ribbon-handled cups of bronze. The fibulae are long-shanked, of the horned-serpentine type with a ball near the end, and the sanguisuga type formed of amber wedges. A bronze rod with a hemisphere of bronze three-quarters of the way up it is evidently a distaff, the only example preserved in any of these graves. Another bronze rod threaded with cylindrical pieces of bone is of uncertain purpose; it has a good deal of resemblance to an object which occurred in a First Benacci grave which has never been explained.[3] An iron knife, necklace of amber and glass beads, and fragments of gold leaf, are familiar objects at this time. But the pottery of no. 124 is interesting and unusual, for, although it all belongs to the regular black-and-red banded style, several of the examples have been decorated with extra ornaments of various kinds. Thus whereas one of the three ossuary jars (type of Plate 5, no. 19) and two of the high fruit-stands are simply banded in red and black, two other ossuaries are ornamented with chevrons and lines incised on the black bands and with little circles punched with the end of a stick. And the third of the high fruit-stands has bosses of clay sticking out in a line half-way up the outside of the bowl, no doubt in imitation of repoussé metal work.

It was apparently from this tomb that there came a bronze cover described by Ghirardini, which may be compared with the Rebato cover shown in my

[1] Grave 83 belongs to the Northern Cemetery, objects 5160–91.

[2] Northern Cemetery, objects 6031–67.

[3] See *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 2, no. 13.

Fig. 9. The broad outer zone shows figures of a lion, a stag, and deer, while the central circle is divided into four compartments, in each of which there is a bird.

Nos. 232 and 234 resemble one another in respect of their immense bronze ossuaries, half a metre high, with bronze caps rising another twelve centimetres above them. There was a similar great ossuary in the transitional tomb 233, which was assigned to the extreme end of the Second Period, and another occurs in the Franchini tomb, no. 26, which is a generation or so later, to judge from its Certosa fibulae. The type, which is strongly represented in the collection formerly housed in the palace at Cattaio near Battaglia, is illustrated here as Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Bronze lid of situla from Rebato. After Ducati, *La situla della Certosa.*

In tomb 232 [1] there were apparently three persons buried, for there are three of these great bronze receptacles, each of which contained one of the regulation red-and-black banded pottery ossuaries (type no. 19 in Plate 5), covered with its red-and-black bowl, a high fruit-stand, a red bowl, and a banded red-and-black goblet. One of the fruit-stands had been ornamented on the rim with little plaques of tin pressed into the clay.

The metal objects were as follows: a little bronze bowl with ribbon handle; a bronze situletta with an iron handle; a bronze axe; an iron horse-bit; an iron axe like that in Montelius, Plate 56, no. 3; fibulae of the serpentine, button-sided boat, and long-shanked ribbon-bow types, including one serpentine type of iron.

One unique object deserves special attention, viz. a bronze-hilted iron knife in a bronze sheath, the sheath being ornamented with three figures of horses engraved upon it in good style.[2]

Tomb 234 [3] contained another very tall bronze receptacle like Fig. 10, and two smaller bronze situlae, one of which is plain and has no lid, while the other is ornamented on its side and on its lid with a simple design of wheels,

[1] Northern Cemetery, objects 7586–652.

[2] Some of the principal objects in 232 are illustrated in *Not. Scavi*, 1896, where this tomb is fully described, pp. 302–16.

[3] Northern Cemetery, objects 7687–777.

rosettes, and studs in repoussé. With these is a miniature edition of Fig. 10, about half its height. The pottery is of Third Period type, with one curious modification, viz. that the red-and-black banded ossuary (type of Plate 5, no. 19) has been overlaid with geometrical patterns in white upon the red-and-black ground. The fruit-stands (type of Plate 5, no. 18) are of a coppery red colour without any black. Also there are two jars, of which one is shown in no. 21 of Plate 5, ornamented in the 'Golaseccan style', with vertical lines of dark brown on a lighter background.

Fig. 10. Bronze ossuary. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ii, col. 244. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

The bronze objects are as follows: fragments of a baton; three head-pins (type of Montelius, Plate 57, no. 5), one of which is of most unusual length, a ring with three short chains, and a ribbon-bow fibula. There is an iron axe, type of Montelius, Plate 56, no. 1, with a ring at the side.

Tombs of Later Third Period

These seven or eight graves, then, may be considered characteristic of the first generation in the Third Period, and placed nearer 500 than 450 B. C. The next generation is defined as to its upper limit by the appearance of the Certosa fibula. This cannot be quite so early as 500, inasmuch as the Certosa fibula is not known in Italy before the foundation of the Etruscan colony at Bologna, which took place just about the year 500 B. C. Once invented, the new fibula rapidly spreads over the peninsula. But it has an embarrassingly long life, persisting until it is replaced by the Gaulish La Tène models in the late fourth century. Consequently it is useless as a guide to the lower limit of date, for graves in which Certosa fibulae occur may, in the absence of any other evidence, belong to any time between 500 and 350 B. C. Fortunately, however, the appearance of Greek pottery enables us to control the dating of the most important cases, so that it can safely be asserted that the Capodaglio tombs, nos. 31 and 38, are late fifth century, while the Boldù-Dolfin pair must belong to the fourth.

The first tomb that contained a Certosa fibula may be dismissed with a short notice, as it so closely resembles 232 and 233, though later in actual date. It contained the large bronze ossuary illustrated above as Fig. 10, two smaller situlae of about half the height of the large one, and a set of the usual banded red-and-black ware, viz. four jars like Plate 5, no. 19, two smaller

editions of the same type, and three small cups of plain black ware. The ornaments are annular bronze bracelets of oval section, and bangles of ribbon bronze, with a very large Certosa fibula and a late form of serpentine fibula. Like 232 and 233 this tomb contained a large outfit of weapons, viz. a winged bronze axe with side-ring, type of Montelius, Plate 56, no. 1; two winged iron axes, types of Montelius, Plate 56, nos. 2 and 4; and the plain bronze sheath of a dagger. Numbered in the museum series as 26, this may be referred to as the 'Franchini tomb',[1] for although others were excavated on the site, it is certainly the most important. It was from the Franchini site that the collection formerly at Cattaio, near Battaglia, was formed in the last years of the eighteenth century by the then Marchese degli Obizzi.[2] The museum was visited by Ghirardini, who reported that it contained twenty-one bronze situlae, three of which were ornamented with bosses in repoussé.[3]

More exactly and satisfactorily dated than the Franchini tomb, on account of the Greek pottery which they contained, are two which are illustrated together in Plate 8.

They must be treated as a single unit to be called 'Tomb 31',[4] because the contents were never separated; the two tombs were found close together in the same cemetery at the same moment, and the objects were brought into the museum together. Actually this does not in any way vitiate the study of them, for it is quite evident that the two are absolutely contemporary, and the objects form a perfectly homogeneous set. To take the pottery first: There are five imported Greek vases. The first and most important for dating purposes is shown in Plate 8, no. 1; the chess-board markings are in black on a pinkish-yellow ground. This has been discussed both by Helbig[5] and by Ghirardini,[6] whose opinions agree in placing it in the middle or towards the end of the fifth century. Next to it in the plate is no. 2, a plain skyphos entirely covered with black varnish. No. 3 shows a skyphos painted with rough palmetto designs in black on a pinkish-yellow ground, while Ghirardini illustrates another skyphos of identical shape and dimensions painted with red palmettos and with a figure holding a stick.[7] Finally there is one of the small black two-handled tazze so common in Magna Graecia and Etruria.

A second class of pottery which is new on the site, and has probably been imported, is a plain yellow ware without any decoration; of this there are several small bowls and a handled jug.

[1] Western Cemetery, objects 2385–445.

[2] Soranzo, op. cit., p. 41.

[3] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ii, col. 174, vol. vii, col. 31. This tallies with the statement of Cavedoni in 1842, who speaks of 21 'vasi cinerarii composti di semplici lastri di rame' and of 170 pottery ossuaries.

[4] Western Cemetery, objects 2531–846.

[5] *Bull. dell' Inst.*, pp. 74–87.

[6] Ghirardini describes the two tombs in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 54–64, giving them the number 105.

[7] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. v, no. 23.

Side by side with these importations are several fine specimens of the native Atestine. Two of them are the usual ossuaries, shaped like no. 19 in Plate 5, banded in alternate zones of red and black, while a third is smaller and rounder. No. 13 in the plate is one of three high fruit-stands in which the stems are black, but the body of the bowl is red with a black rim.

The two fibulae shown as nos. 5 and 6 are exactly appropriate to a grave of the second half of the fifth century, no. 6 being one of several Certosa fibulae, and no. 5 being a type well known in the late Arnoaldi at Bologna, which becomes particularly common round the Italian lakes at this precise time. To no. 6 is attached a little pair of tweezers on a ring.

Apart from the situlae there are several bronze objects of some importance. Thus in no. 8 of Plate 8 can be seen a bowl supported on a tripod, no. 9 is a pair of andirons or 'fire-dogs', 10 is a handled dipper, 11 a spatula, and 12 a ribbon-handled cup. Besides these Ghirardini mentions and illustrates one of those high bronze fruit-stands which were perhaps the original metal prototypes of the pottery fruit-stands,[1] a handsome fluted dish,[2] and a girdle plaque.[3] He also speaks of head-pins, fragments of bracelets, parts of a baton, a scraper, and two knives.

The two necklaces, nos. 4 and 7, are handsome ornaments; no. 4 is composed of tubular and round bronze beads with a bronze bulla, while no. 7 is a necklace of blue glass beads of the colour of lapis-lazuli, with an oval bronze pendant.

Each of the two tombs numbered as 31 contained a bronze situla, within which no doubt had been the black-and-red pottery ossuary. The finest of these situlae is shown as no. 14 in Plate 8; its body is ornamented half-way up with a series of vertical flutings in strong relief. Above this is a zone enclosed by rows of small bosses, within which is a row of animals and birds. These are not shown in my plate, but are given here in Fig. 11; they very closely resemble the series given in my Plate 9, no. 2, hares alternating with birds, executed in repoussé with details engraved.

From the same site as no. 31 is tomb 38,[4] which must be of exactly the same date, as can be seen from the very close resemblance of so many objects. It contained no painted pottery, but had several fibulae of pronounced Certosa type, which further corroborate the dating.

Pottery in this tomb is mainly of the native Atestine styles. There are two ossuaries, one of which was found within the largest bronze situla, of shapes like Plate 5, no. 19, banded with red and black; also smaller vases like Plate 5,

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ii, col. 236.
[2] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. v, fig. 42.
[3] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. v, fig. 38.
[4] Western Cemetery, objects 2983–3040.

no. 26, and fruit-stands like Plate 5, no. 18, all with the same banding; and a monochrome red bowl striped with vertical lines of a darker red.

Of bronze there are a high fruit-stand and a bowl on tripod legs, like the examples described in no. 31; fragments of small vessels, including one with a swing handle; a simpulum; a small tube covered with gold leaf; a tiny fragment of girdle.

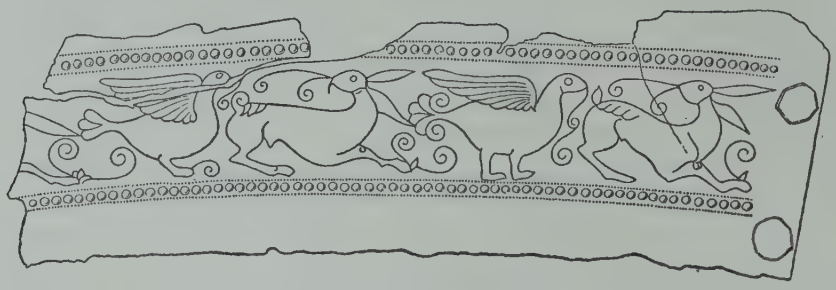


Fig. 11. Ornamentation of bronze situla. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. 2.

The iron weapons and other objects were unusually numerous; there was a round-pommelled dagger with iron hilt and iron sheath, another dagger with bronze hilt and iron sheath (type of *Not. Scavi*, 1882, Plate VII, no. 25), and fragments of a third, besides an iron knife and fragments of fire-dogs of the same metal.

Blue glass beads, like those of the last tomb, coral beads, pieces of amber, and short bronze chains with bucket-shaped pendants, must have formed one or perhaps two necklaces. There were also a good many bronze buttons.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 8

Plate 8. ESTE.

Contents of tomb 31; *Capodaglio.*

No. 1, pottery, pattern in black on a pinkish yellow ground, Greek manufacture; no. 2, pottery, monochrome, black, Greek manufacture; no. 3, pottery, floral design in black on pinkish yellow ground, Greek manufacture; no. 4, bronze necklace with bronze bulla; nos. 5 and 6, bronze fibulae; no. 7, necklace of blue glass-paste beads with bronze pendant; no. 8, bronze basin; no. 9, andirons of bronze; no. 10, bronze dipper; no. 11, bronze knife; no. 12, bronze ribbon-handled cup; no. 13, pottery, black except for the lower half of the bowl, which is red; no. 14, fluted bronze situla, with a narrow zone at the neck ornamented with figures of animals not shown in this illustration; no. 15, front view of the lid of no. 14, showing the simple decoration; no. 16, plain bronze situla.

Scale of nos. 1, 2, 3 is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$; of nos. 4, 7, 12 is $\frac{1}{3}$; of nos. 5 and 6 is $\frac{2}{5}$; of nos. 8, 10, 13 is $\frac{1}{4}$; of no. 9 is $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 11, 14, 15, 16 is $\frac{1}{5}$.

All drawn from originals in the museum at Este by R. A. Cordingley.

ESTE. A Tomb of the Late Third Period

Situlae of Later Third Period

The great interest of tomb 38 consists in the decorated bronze vessels, of which there were four, viz. one large and three small situlae. The large situla is lettered C, and its cover D, while the three smaller are called E, F, G in the finely illustrated account which Ghirardini has given of them.[1]

The large situla, 33 centimetres high, shown here as Fig. 12, is of a shape different from any which I have hitherto recorded. The lower half is plain without any decoration; the upper half is ornamented with a broad zone of animals, amongst which is a single human figure. This zone is represented by no. 1 in my Plate 9; on the right is the man, wearing a broad hat and long cloak like some of the men on the Benvenuti and on the Certosa situla. Behind him is a young stag without horns. Next there is a winged lion, as to whose anatomy and proportions the artist seems to have hesitated a little, with the result that the mythological creature is less finely executed than the more familiar species. Beneath the belly of the winged lion is a little running animal, probably a hare. An antlered stag completes the series on this side. Then, beyond the row of rivets which mark the junction of the second hammered sheet are a young stag, an antelope with curved horns, an antlered stag, and a fourth animal, probably a young stag. The last of these does not appear in my plate.

FIG. 12. Bronze situla. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, col. 38. Scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

The technique of situla C is like that of the Benvenuti situla; it is made of two sheets of hammered bronze riveted together, the bottom being added separately. In the execution of the figures the principal process is repoussé, but contours are engraved. The zone of animals is enclosed within a border of repoussé bosses and dotted lines.

For the lid of C there exists no representation which is at all satisfactory, except the photograph in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, Fig. 16, which gives some idea of the spirit and style of the figures, in spite of the damage which has been done by oxidization. The tiny sketch in Montelius, Plate 55, no. 6, does, however, explain the arrangement, which is that of a wide zone filled with running animals, five in number. A stag and an antelope can be recognized in the photograph, finely rendered with a great deal of animation.

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 37–54, together with the large-scale drawings in tav. i, ii. Ghirardini calls this tomb 103.

The first of the smaller situlae, known as E, is 15 centimetres high, made of a single hammered sheet instead of two. Actually the riveted joint which fastens the two sides of the plate cuts in half one of the animals which form a frieze running round the shoulder of the vessel. The subject of this decoration is very simple,[1] a bird followed by an animal that is apparently a young and hornless stag. In the representation of this pair, which is several times repeated, there is a good deal of animation, in spite of the conventionalized form given to the bird. Very similar to E is the decoration of F,[2] illustrated in my Plate 9, no. 2. This also is made of a single sheet of metal, 22 centimetres high, and instead of being simply conical in shape, has a distinct foot like the example shown in column 298, Fig. d, of the text of Montelius. The third small situla is too fragmentary to be recorded, but animals and a bird can be detected upon it, so that it must have been very like the other two.

It is easy to see the very close resemblance of E, F, G, alike in motive and treatment, to the situla of tomb 31, illustrated in the *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. X, tav. ii, as H. There can be no question that the two series are contemporary, and they might almost be the products of the same atelier.

[1] Illustrated in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. ii, fig. 1. [2] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. ii, fig. 2.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 9

PLATE 9. ESTE. *Designs on situlae.*

No. 1 is from the large situla, C, in tomb 38; from Capodaglio. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.
No. 2 is from the small situla, F; in tomb 38; from Capodaglio. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.
No. 3 is the situla L; from the Boldù-Dolfin pair of graves. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.
No. 4 is the situla from the great Benvenuti tomb. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.
The letters C, F, L, are those given to the situlae in *Mon. Ant.*, X.
Reproduced from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 54 and 55.

ESTE. Designs on Bronze Situlae of the Third Period

Decorated Bronze Girdles of Third Period

To this same stage, 450 to 400 B.C., must belong two well-known tombs of the Nazari collection, found in 1881 in the southern cemetery. Montelius, in his Plate 57, no. 15, reproduces Soranzo's drawing of the first of them, showing the cist of stone slabs with all its contents, which were as follows: two red-and-black banded ossuaries of situla form, one of which is remarkable for its added ornamentation of maeanders and chevrons done in thin sheets of bronze; two red ossuaries of the same shape; two smaller red situlette, one of which is ornamented with sheet bronze like the large ossuary; two red jars of more slender form; four fruit-stands of the red-and-black banded ware; four banded red-and-black cups with handles; a bronze baton; wheel-shaped top of a head-pin; iron knife; iron borer with bone handle; bronze bracelets both of ribbon and of wire; blue glass beads; amber beads; four pieces of *aes rude*, viz. one from each ossuary; thirteen Certosa fibulae, one serpentine fibula.

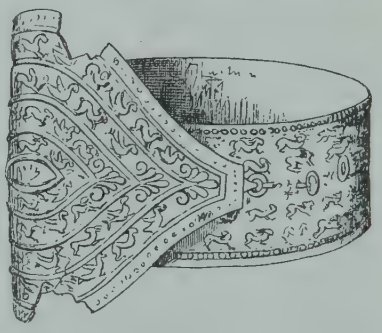


FIG. 13. Bronze girdle. From Soranzo, tav. 3. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

Except for the new technique shown in the decoration of the pottery, there is nothing unusual in this series, which is quite typical of the period. The remarkable object, however, which makes the interest of the tomb is the front part of a bronze girdle with a design in repoussé and engraving; this is shown in Montelius, Plate 56, no. 8; the design is that of two maned animals facing one another within a running scroll-border.[1]

This brings us to the consideration of a famous masterpiece, the complete bronze girdle found in the other Nazari tomb, and shown here as Fig. 13.

The lozenge-shaped front part of Fig. 13 measures 48 centimetres from end to end, and if quite unbroken would be 37 centimetres high; the belt portion is 74 centimetres long and 12 centimetres high, with rings tightening or loosening it on the body. Girdles of this shape, although often assumed to be exclusively the equipment of a man, were certainly worn by women, as is proved by a bronze plaque in the Baratela collection.[2] They seem to be very common in the tombs of the Third Period, though very few have

[1] Soranzo, Plate VII, figs. 1 and 2, and p. 69.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, tav. xi, fig. 11, and p. 112. Similarly in Etruscan Vetulonia it was the women who wore the girdles, as is proved by the fragment of a statue (*Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 150).

actually survived intact. Probably the belt was more often made of leather than of bronze, to judge from the pattern of the fastenings sometimes found, when only the lozenge-shaped plaque had been preserved.

The simple design of a hare and birds, repeated in each of the zones within the lozenge-shaped plaque, is illustrated in Fig. 14, while in Fig. 15 is shown the design of running animals which decorates the belt. A somewhat similar decoration occurs on the fragment of a belt from another tomb illustrated in Montelius, Plate 56, no. 9, after Soranzo.

The girdle just described was found in a cist-tomb coiled round a bronze situla, which was ornamented on the shoulder with a row of large repoussé circles. There were four other bronze vessels of the more or less standard situla types. The two largest of the five contained pottery ossuaries of the

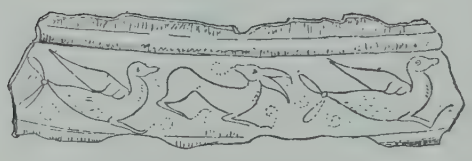


Fig. 14. Details of the bronze girdle shown as Fig. 13.

Fig. 15. Details of the bronze girdle shown as Fig. 13.

usual banded red-and-black style, in which were two Certosa fibulae and one serpentine fibula, together with a second girdle broken and damaged by fire. The other small articles were a bronze head-pin, bronze baton, iron knife with bone handle, and an iron axe with side-ring. There were also a bowl, patera, andirons, and a strainer-spoon—all of bronze.

Next to the girdle, shown in Fig. 13, which is numbered 6476 in the museum, is another fine girdle-plaque, numbered 6475, without any belt, also from the Nazari site. It is very minutely engraved with numerous figures of animals, so fine that they can only be observed in a very strong light. This example seems never to have been published, and there is no information as to the grave in which it was found.

Girdles are extremely common in tombs of the Third Period at Este; Prosdocomi states that in the excavations of a single year he found no less than forty, but for the most part they were so much damaged that it has been impossible to make any study of them. They were sometimes rectangular, but more generally lozenge-shaped, and often ornamented with zones of animals or birds, sometimes executed in repoussé, but sometimes in mere engraving. Generally speaking, the treatment is decorative rather than naturalistic; there

is not the same effort as in the Benvenuti situla to represent real animal life, but there is sometimes a good deal of vigour and spirit in the individual figures. I have mentioned two of the finest decorated girdles in my account of the Nazari tomb, and there is another in tomb 29, which closely resembles an example from the same Capodaglio site described and figured by Ghirardini in the *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. x, tav. v, Fig. 34. In the same plate of the *Monumenti*, nos. 25, 27, 30, 35, 38, may be seen a quite representative series of ornamented girdles and fastenings; these may be compared with Fig. 26 in Prosdocomi's account of 1882,[1] and with Figs. 13 and 14 of Plate 56 in Montelius.

The Bronze Work of Este—is it Independent?

We have now seen that the most distinctive and interesting feature of the Third Atestine period is its magnificent metal work, exhibited especially in the fashion of girdles and of situlae to hold the ashes of the dead. Large bronze vessels made of hammered plates have been observed at Este from the very beginning of the Second Period, for out of three graves containing antennae-swords, two were seen to be furnished with a bronze ossuary (pp. 12, 13). In the one case the form is unknown, but in the other, illustrated by Plate 2, no. 14, the ossuary was definitely a situla. And the type here illustrated is one which has already undergone a perceptible evolution from the simple bucket or pail for water which may be seen hanging from the cross-bar in the upper zone (Plate 9, no. 4) of the pictures on the Benvenuti situla itself. The plain household utensil, employed no doubt from the earliest days in their ordinary domestic life, has been converted by the Atestines to a ceremonial use. It gradually becomes more and more an object of beauty; is decorated first with such simple designs as the row of embossed circles seen in a grave of the later Second Period, and finally arrives, in the Benvenuti situla, at being the expression of the finest art to which this people ever attained.

The discovery of the Rebato situla-cover is particularly valuable, as showing that the Benvenuti example is not isolated. Nevertheless the chronological point at which both these examples occur might lead us to suspect that they may not be quite original productions of the bronze workers of Este. We have seen that there was a good deal of intercourse and community of custom between Este and Bologna in the Second Period, and it is natural that this intercourse should continue in the Third. But the inevitable result of this

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1882, tav. vii, fig. 27. The subject of girdles at Este is discussed in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 100–6, and in Orsi's essay, 'Centuroni italici della prima età di ferro' (*Atti e Memorie della R. Dep. di Storia patria per la provincia di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. iii, 1885).

would be that the Etruscan influence which asserted itself overwhelmingly in Bologna at the end of the sixth century should spread in some degree to Este. Up to almost the year 500 B.C. Este has lived isolated from all but her Villanovan neighbours. But about that time the founding of the Etruscan colony at Bologna has the almost immediate effect of swamping the native Villanovan culture in that district, and substituting purely Etruscan art and civilization. From this moment, then, it becomes very probable that there will be signs of Etruscan art-influence percolating through to Este, even though the people remains quite unconquered and politically independent.

The test of whether such influence was actually exerted so early as 500 B.C. is furnished by analysis and comparison of the art of the situlae.

The two masterpieces of metal-work which resemble one another in so many respects are the Benvenuti situla of Este, which has already been described, and the Certosa situla found at Bologna. I am enabled by the kindness of Professor P. Ducati, who has recently published the most complete and satisfactory account ever given of the Certosa situla, to reproduce the drawing shown in Plate 10. This is reduced from the original plate in his own memoir, which is by far the most trustworthy version ever produced, and must be held to supersede the defective illustrations which have been used in all previous books.[1] A photograph of one side of the situla forms my frontispiece.

Description of the Certosa Situla

In the lowest zone are seen a stag, lions, and mythical animals, one of which has a human body in its mouth like the winged lion (Plate 9, no. 3) in the Boldù-Dolfin situla. In fact this whole row resembles the Boldù-Dolfin rather than the Benvenuti, in which mythological animals are only used to fill up vacant spaces, and not as an important subject of representation.

The three upper zones depict a military procession, a religious ceremonial, and scenes from the daily life of the countryside, in a very similar spirit to the representations on the Benvenuti situla, and with a good deal of coincidence in detail. The third zone is equivalent in subject to the two upper zones of the Benvenuti, and may be closely compared with them. Beginning on the left we see the oxen standing unyoked from the plough; the peasant has taken the plough, which is obviously very light, with little or no metal in it, and has laid it over his shoulder. Next to him is a slave dragging a pig by its hind legs; a bird is perched on the back of the pig. Then in the centre is a scene of entertainment. Seated astride a divan, of which the detail shows that it was a magnificent piece of bronze work supported on six legs of turned

[1] P. Ducati, *La situla della Certosa*, Bologna, Stabilimenti Poligrafici riuniti, 1923.

wood or ivory, are two minstrels, one of whom is playing a set of pipes, while the other strikes a five-stringed lyre. The arms of the divan should be noticed; they are in the form of lions, of which one is devouring a man and the other a hare. Behind the musicians are two naked boys contending in some game, not wrestling, as has been suggested. Perhaps the game may have consisted in casting into the jar which hangs midway between them. At each end of the divan, observing the music and games, there is a dignified figure in broad-brimmed hat and long cloak, one of whom is drawing wine with a dipper from a jar placed on a high stand. To the right of this are two servants bearing on a pole the carcass of a stag, while the curly-tailed dog marches beneath it. And on the extreme right of all a hunter armed with a mace in each hand beats a bush, from which a hare rushes out into the net that has been skilfully prepared to catch it.

These scenes are all portrayed with the most surprising vivacity, and with an extraordinary skill in the characterization of habit and attitude. Though the subjects are not identical, the general resemblance of conception and execution to the pastoral and feasting scenes of the Benvenuti situla is very striking. It must be admitted that the two specimens are products not only of the same tradition but of the same school. And if this be granted it is certainly very significant that the principal details of dress and furniture are positively Etruscan, and can be paralleled from purely Etruscan sources. Thus in the third zone of the Certosa situla the divan has six wooden or ivory legs, and an engraved bronze body like the bed in the Regolini-Galassi tomb; while the arms at either end of it are carved with the motive of a lion devouring a man or an animal, exactly in the spirit of the Barberini or Marsiliana ivories. In several of the tombs of Tarquinii there are pictures of the musicians' duet, the one player performing on the pipes, the other on a lyre. The long mantle with its criss-cross pattern has its exact parallel in a pottery statuette from Montalto di Castro; the broad-brimmed petasus is familiar both at Caere and Chiusi.

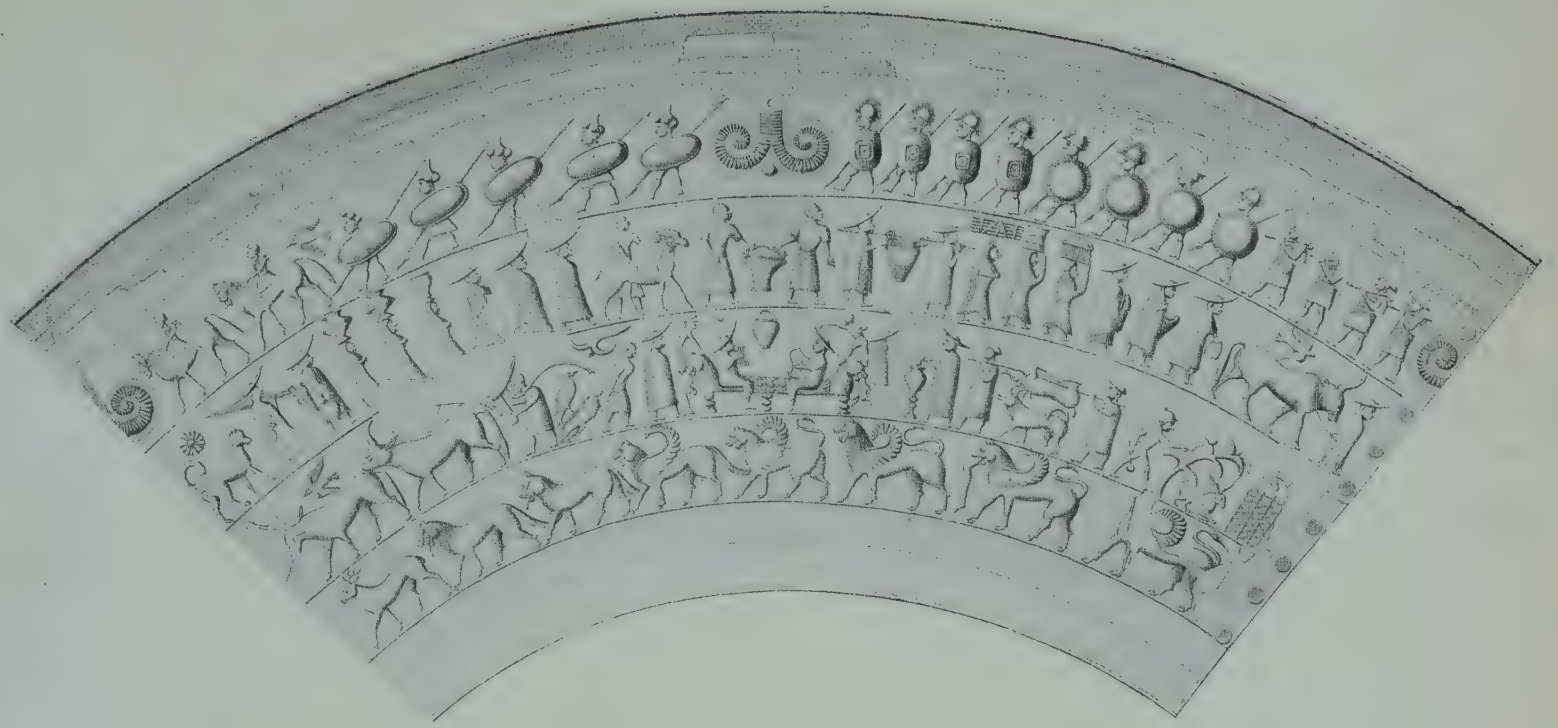
The second zone is occupied with a single scene instead of a succession of episodes. The interpretation which Ducati gives to this is convincing; and if it is accepted it finally decides the question whether the Certosa situla is Etruscan or Atestine work, entirely apart from any considerations of style or accessory detail. On the extreme right is a man in broad-brimmed hat and long cloak leading an ox by a rope. Behind the ox come three men in broad-brimmed hats and long cloaks, followed by three women bearing respectively a basket, a ribbed bronze cista, and a bundle of faggots. The centre of the procession is formed by two men in hats and cloaks bearing a finely ornamented

bronze vessel slung from a pole. This Ducati explains as the ossuary containing the cremated ashes; behind it are two bare-headed servants carrying a finely engraved bronze situla, and these again are followed by another servant leading a ram which he grips by the horn. Then come three more broad-hatted long-robed men, followed by three women bearing bronze vessels on their heads; then a man carrying a bronze bucket in his hand, with a cylindrical jar like a long alabastron on his back. Finally the procession is closed by a man carrying a bundle of skewers on his shoulder and an axe in his hand, followed by a curly-tailed dog.

In this zone, then, we have, according to Ducati, the complete procession of a funeral *cortège* with the ox and the ram which are to be slaughtered on the pyre, the relatives in their long robes, the bare-headed slaves leading the beasts, and the women carrying the apparatus for the burning and the burial. I do not hesitate to accept this interpretation, and, if it be accepted, then it must surely follow that the funeral is that of an Etruscan and not of an Atestine. It would be unthinkable that the bronze jar buried with such care in the grave of an Etruscan should represent the burial ceremonies of an alien and foreign people. And in that case the jar must have been made by an Etruscan or, which would be the same thing for my purposes, by some one living in the midst of the Etruscans, and thoroughly conversant with their life. That the burial-rite is cremation instead of inhumation need be no obstacle, for it is fully proved that the Etruscans used both practices; indeed, about one-third of the burials in the Certosa cemetery were cremations, while at Chiusi, where carved ivories and a silver secchiello have been found with scenes closely comparable to some of those on the Certosa situla, cremation was the only rite.

Moreover, the character of the objects carried in this procession is very distinctive and peculiar. When they are not absolutely Etruscan they are at least Bolognese and not Atestine. Thus the situla borne by the two persons wearing hats—very similar in form to the Certosa situla itself—has the side-rings for suspension just like the example from the Tomba del Duce. The bronze recipient carried by the slaves behind this finds its nearest parallel in a Benacci tomb at Bologna, and the duck-shaped attachment of the handles is purely Bolognese. The two sharp-angled bronze jars carried by the last women are quite unknown in Venetia, but are familiar types at Tarquinii, Narce, and Vetulonia. And finally the alabastron on the back of the man preceding the second bearer is a Greek form, long since imported all over Etruria but quite unknown north of the Po.

In the top zone the military procession is absolutely Etruscan in character. Two horsemen wearing round helmets are followed by five foot-soldiers armed



BOLOGNA. Scenes on the Certosa Situla

with shield and spear; then come twelve foot-soldiers in groups of four, the first eight armed with spear and shield, the last four with axes but no shield. The pattern of shield and the style of helmet differs in each group. That the weapons and the helmets are almost all of well-known Etruscan types might not indeed be decisive as an argument; for no doubt weapons were traded freely all over the country, and the equipment of soldiers no less than the civilian dress was probably very similar at Este and Bologna by the fifth century.[1] But the whole scheme and arrangement of the soldiers and the horsemen is an almost stereotyped repetition of scenes familar on numerous Etruscan objects, ranging from the silver bowls of the Regolini-Galassi tomb to the carved ivory situla of Pania and the ostrich eggs of Vulci. The prototypes are to be found in that orientalizing art which is represented in its most characteristic form by the silver bowls imported from Cyprus to Etruria, which were buried in the great princely tombs of Caere and Praeneste. Ducati then is fully justified in his principal conclusion, that the Bolognese situla does not belong to any bronze-working school of North Italy, but to an Etruscan school founded on the traditions and models of the Hellenic Orient.

It would be beyond my scope and purpose here to discuss the extent and precise value of the Ionic factor in this school; that belongs to the subject of Etruscan art in itself.[2] My purpose has been simply to demonstrate that the Certosa situla is Etruscan and not Atestine work; and that consequently the Benvenuti situla which so closely resembles it was produced under the strongest Etruscan influence, and is not the original inspiration of some artist of Este.

Ghirardini's theory, therefore, that the influence proceeded in the inverse direction, and that the Certosa situla was imitated from Atestine models, must now be definitely abandoned. Chronology is no obstacle to the view which I am putting forward, for the Certosan tomb is dated by its contents precisely to 480 B.C. So that allowing a possible latitude of forty years, and conceding that the situla may be of any time between 520 and 480 B.C., it follows that the Benvenuti and Certosa examples are in any case near enough in date to one another to have been produced by the same man, or by two generations of the same family. Certainly they are the products of the same school, though

[1] For a quite independent representation of Atestine warriors see the curious drawings on a pottery jar discovered by Alfonsi, *Not. Scavi*, 1909, pp. 149–57, or *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 72. Compare also the Baratela figures as given in *Not. Scavi*, 1888, tav. vii–xii.

[2] This, however, is an aspect which has much occupied Ducati, and is discussed with many other interesting points in his memoir. In mere justice to this author I must make it clearly understood that I have used only so much of his essay as served for my immediate purpose, even giving to various points a different emphasis from that which they bear in his treatment. The memoir itself should be studied by all who are interested in the origin and connexions of the situla in Italy.

the bronze-working at Este was probably independent and perhaps not quite so skilful.

We must consider, then, that for over two hundred years the Etruscans had been regularly importing from the near East the best models of that Aegean art which was growing up under a medley of influences derived in various degrees from Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, and Asiatic Greece. With these to study they had developed native schools of bronze-workers who owed much of their répertoire and the general conception of their themes to foreign originals. But by the beginning of the fifth century these schools, of which the principal and most important was at Bologna, had begun to show considerable independence and originality. This is demonstrated by the art of the Certosa situla, in which the pictures of simple country life are rendered with a spontaneity and freshness which are wholly independent of all foreign masters. From the ateliers of Bologna issued the models, and perhaps even the apprentices, that made the Benvenuti situla possible.

It is only by such a close analysis and comparison of the two leading examples that we are enabled to confute the other view propounded by Ghirardini, according to which the bronze-working art of Este was directly inspired by Greek teaching. We can now see that any influence which Ionic or other Greek art may have exercised was wholly indirect, and passed through the roundabout road of Etruria and Bologna. It has been well argued against Ghirardini's theory that no contemporary products of Greek art or industry have been found in the cemeteries of Este. There is not a sherd of black-figured pottery, not to speak of Corinthian ; there is not an object of any description which can be traced to Greece or Greek colonies before the middle of the fifth century. Then indeed, about 450 B.C. and in the succeeding generation, the later and inferior products of the red-figured school are found, but the bronze work which accompanies these has none of the vivid naturalism of the Benvenuti situla. Rather, as we have seen in describing the situlae of Capodaglio, it is confined to a limited scheme in which animals and birds are represented, with a considerable amount of skill, but with little originality or vigour.

Before passing on from these, the products of the mid-fifth century, to the very much stylized and conventional work of the fourth century as seen in the bronzes of the Boldù-Dolfin tombs, I ought to notice a situla which was found in the excavations of the Rando site, but has only recently been published.[1] The objects found in the tomb are hardly sufficient in themselves to establish its date, but the style of the Greek motives may be taken to show that it is not earlier than about 450 B.C. There are three decorated zones, the uppermost

[1] By Callegari, in the *Not. Scavi*, 1924, pp. 269–78.

of which is occupied by a row of cattle, the second by ornamental rosettes, and the third by a honeysuckle pattern. The execution is hardly perfect enough for an imported original, so that it may very possibly be a local production.

The Fourth Century. Boldù-Dolfin Tomb

With the Boldù-Dolfin situlae, illustrated in Fig. 16 and in Plate 9, no. 3, we have arrived at the full fourth century and a total change of artistic feeling. There is no reminiscence of the scenes of country life, the horse fair and the ploughing and the grazing stags, amongst which on the Benvenuti situla only an occasional mythological creature was allowed to fill a vacant space. Nor

FIG. 16. Ornamentation of a bronze situla in Boldù-Dolfin grave. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. iii.

have we the pleasant little pictures of cattle, deer, and birds, which, albeit somewhat stiff and conventionalized, gave a pleasing grace to the bronzes of the mid-fifth century. The unshapely maned animals, so clumsily rendered that it is hard to tell whether they are meant for horses or lions, the fierce creatures with interlinking heads, the sphinxes crowned with helmets, belong to the realm of the copyist working on a stale bequest of Oriental fantasy, filtered but not purified by the many channels through which it has passed. This is sheer decadence compared to the fresh naïveté and fancy of a hundred years before. By the year 400 B.C. Atestine art has passed its zenith, and I have no interest in tracing its degeneration. But for types of the first half of the fourth century I will describe the Boldù-Dolfin tombs and their contents.

The two situlae which have been mentioned above come from a pair of tombs discovered in the southern cemetery, numbered 52 and 53.[1] As in the case of no. 31, the two were found together and their contents were never

[1] Objects 3491–584.

separated, so that they are exhibited together, and may be treated as a single unit.[1]

The first situla is 40 centimetres high, formed of two hammered plates joined in the usual way. It is ornamented on the bottom half with fluting like the situla in no. 31, and on the top half with a broad zone of mythological creatures. There are only three subjects, illustrated here as Fig. 16, viz. on the right a winged animal with a mane which is perhaps intended to characterize it as a lion, next to this is a sphinx, and in the third place a long-necked bird like a goose. This bird is the only slight link of style with the earlier tradition.

The second situla, the decoration of which is given in Plate 9, no. 3, is $29\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres high, of a somewhat new and unusual shape, like a flower-pot with incurving sides; the bottom half is plain, the top half is filled with the ornamented zone. Here there are six animals, of which the one on the extreme right does not appear in my illustration, and they are apparently to be identified as horses and lions. Behind the sixth animal comes a little man in a crested helmet. The lion with a half-devoured human figure hanging from his mouth is a well-known Etruscan motive found also on Ionic pottery.

Besides the two large figured situlae there was a smaller plain one in this pair of tombs, and two fluted situlette as well as two of the high-pedestalled fruit-stands, all of bronze.

The two degenerate Greek vases are a skyphos and a kylix, of which the former is illustrated in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. x, tav. v, Fig. 9. It is decorated with red palmettos painted on a ground of black varnish, an inferior and late technique. Similar specimens have been found in graves of the Gaulish cemetery at Bologna. The kylix is a black varnished tazza of the kind known as Etrusco-Campanian, stamped with patterns on the base. The fibulae are of the Certosa type except for a serpentine form ending in a round ball; this is a combination which often occurs in Canton Ticino just before the Gaulish time. Of native Atestine ware there were two red-and-black ossuaries, one for each of the bronze situlae, an oval four-legged tray, and a little fruit-stand of plain red fabric.

Besides the Greek ware and the Atestine there is an inferior sort of greyish ware, similar to a fabric found in the Gaulish tombs of Bologna. The metal objects, other than situlae, were a little model pair of fire-dogs, several spoon-shaped perforated ladles, and some fragments of girdles, all of bronze; also an iron spear and two iron knives. Some glass beads, a piece of amber, and fragments of gold leaf were the only remains of personal ornaments. One of the girdle fragments is illustrated in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. x, tav. v, no. 30;

[1] Described by Ghirardini in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 71–94, and tav. iii, iv. He calls them tombs 111 and 112. Cf. also Montelius, Plate 55, nos. 3 and 5.

it shows birds alternately with animals. Another fragment showing a lion attacking a stag is attributed, but without certainty, to this pair of tombs.[1]

This combination of objects shows a date perhaps nearer to 350 B.C. than to 400. Allowing a little elasticity on the same principle which I have allowed for the other situlae, it still remains evident that the situlae cannot be a day earlier than 400 B.C.

And with this I will close my account of Este, only reminding the reader that the fourth century is the date of many of the Euganean inscriptions; and that the Baratela collection contains statuettes and plaques which throw much light on costume and habits in the fourth and following centuries.[2]

Situlae and Girdles exported from Este

The decorated bronze work of Este was evidently much admired, so that examples of it are found over a very wide area extending round the head of the Adriatic in a half circle from Carniola (Krain) on the east to the line of the Brenner on the west, and as far north almost as the Danube. Within this mountainous region the remains have been found of more than a dozen important situlae or girdles, which are to be compared with the Atestine work of the Third Period. The finest are—on the one side those found at Moritzing near Bolzano, Matrei on the Brenner pass, Welzelach and Meclo in the Val di Non, and on the other the situla and girdle from Watsch in Carniola. In Lower Austria the site of Kuffarn has produced a situla comparable to that of Watsch, and at Hallstatt were found a decorated lid and an ornamented sword sheath.

These specimens fall into two groups, the smallest of which, represented by the Hallstatt situla-lid and some fragments from Meclo, has only animals or birds in its scheme of decoration. These so closely resemble the Rebato lid (cf. Fig. 9) and the designs on the Capodaglio situlae (cf. Plate 9, nos. 1 and 2), that there can be no possible doubt as to their date and place of origin. They were unquestionably made at Este in the fifth century, and exported to the places at which they have been found. The larger group, of which the Watsch and Kuffarn situlae are the most important, includes the bronzes, generally situlae, on which there are depicted scenes of human life. These have been the theme of much discussion, and have been treated by a number of authors who have expressed extremely divergent views upon them. The whole subject has been carefully and dispassionately reviewed by Hoernes in his *Urgeschichte*

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, tav. v, no. 25.

[2] The Baratela collection has been carefully studied by Ghirardini in *Not. Scavi*, 1888, with illustrations, of which tav. vii-xii are particularly interesting. Cf. Montelius, Plates 60, 61.

der bildenden Kunst, who reproduces the most important examples in his plates of illustrations, and gives all the necessary bibliographical references.

When these examples are placed side by side and examined as a group, instead of being considered as individual products, the family resemblance between them is obvious at a glance. And when they are closely compared with the Certosa situla their parentage seems to me to be quite unmistakable. One and all are directly descended either from the Certosa situla itself or from vanished contemporary works of the same character. That is to say, they are based on Etruscan originals of about 500 B.C., translated and considerably travestied in the course of interpretation through several hands. I say originals of about 500 B.C. because the Arnoaldi situla of Bologna, which is about 450 B.C., shows the beginning of the same deterioration which is carried to an extreme in these situlae of the Alpine valleys.

The composition which was so orderly and rational in the Certosa situla has broken down and become meaningless. Even in the Arnoaldi we see not the regular sequence of a ceremonial procession, but only detached episodes of chariots, soldiers, and a boxing match. The process of disintegration has been carried farther in the Watsch situla, where elements which had a real significance to the Certosan artist have been torn from their context and reproduced in meaningless combinations. It is like the work of a Phoenician trying to reproduce an Egyptian inscription and making it into decorative nonsense. To the Etruscan the ram was one of the necessary factors in the funeral *cortège*, the beast being led to the sacrifice ; but on the Watsch situla the ram has become the spectator of a boxing match. On the Benvenuti situla the chariot is part of a stately procession, on the Arnoaldi situla the chariots are racing ; but in the Watsch version they have become country carts carrying fat farmers to market. What had been solemn feasts and games in the Etruscan world are rendered as mere carousals and Kermess sports in the Alpine valleys. Throughout there is the same failure to understand the meaning of the original, and sometimes perhaps a deliberate attempt at burlesque. Yet the derivation, no less than the steady degradation of the one series from the other, seems to me so self-evident that I cannot see how the Alpine examples could ever have been claimed as the products of an indigenous ' Illyrian ' art.

Whether, however, the Alpine situlae were actually manufactured in Este or not, I should hardly venture to say. The absence of any distinctively local traits of dress or habit suggests that they were not made in the remote places where they have been found. Their dating is not firmly established, except in so far as it is clear that they must be later than 450 B.C., the time of the Arnoaldi situla, but appreciably earlier than 300 B.C.

There is nothing to forbid the possibility that the earlier examples may have issued from the workshops of Este before 400 B.C.; and these may have served as study pieces, in imitation of which others could be manufactured by local workmen in the Alps during the course of the fourth century.

Venetia outside Este

Venetia has been so little explored by scientific excavators that it is not possible to say how far it was permeated with the civilization of Este. Here and there, however, a few pre-Roman graves have been discovered, unfortunately before the days of proper supervision and record. Thus Ghirardini, in making an official tour of the local museums, was able to report that round Belluno, Pieve di Cavore, and Treviso, cemeteries had been found a good many years ago, from which a few specimens had been saved, though no record had been made of any details concerning them. From Caverzano, on the outskirts of Belluno, came numerous remains of plain bronze situlae, one or two pieces of the banded red-and-black ware characteristic of the Third Period at Este, and a small handled pottery cup decorated with bronze studs. And from Castellin in the same neighbourhood came the bronze sheath of a dagger decorated with figures of animals in repoussé. The occurrence of bronze work of this style, so close to a cemetery which contained unquestionably Atestine pottery, is a distinct point in favour of the view which I have suggested that the figured bronzes of the Alpine valleys were actually exported from Este. Fibulae from Caverzano and Castellin were of definitely Third Period types, but the bronze-studded cup suggests that the Caverzano cemetery may date back to the Second Period.[1]

At Lozzo di Cadore had been found numerous remains of bronze vessels, principally situlae which, when Ghirardini saw them in the museum of Cadore, were in the condition of mere débris. It was evident that they were without ornamentation; but at Lozzo again there was a dagger-sheath ornamented with figures of animals, and here again there was a little pottery cup studded with bronze.[2]

From a site near Treviso, called Montebelluna, there had been brought into the Treviso museum two bronze-ribbed cists, evidently of fifth-century date, found together with fibulae of the same period. A very unusual object had been excavated on the same site, namely a semi-lunar bronze razor of the kind so common at Bologna, but extremely rare in Venetia. And at Asolo, in the same region, there was discovered in the early part of the nineteenth

[1] Account in *Not. Scavi*, 1883, pp. 28–43.

[2] Ibid., pp. 58–71.

century a fine bronze situla decorated with geometrical patterns outlined by bosses in repoussé.[1]

On the other side of Venetia at Rivoli, in the province of Verona, a single discovery was made by accident, which is very interesting and suggestive. The objects were found close together in digging a sandpit, and may be assumed to belong to a single tomb, or perhaps two tombs. They are illustrated in Plate 48 of Montelius, and consist of a bronze spear, a bronze sword, two long-shanked fibulae, and three bronze vessels. One of these is a plain bronze ribbed cist; the other two, a bowl and a situla, are ornamented with geometric patterns made with repoussé bosses. The situla, with its side handles and pendants hanging from them, precisely resembles the undecorated situla shown in my Plate 2, no. 14, from tomb 236 at Este. The fibulae, however, are of a later stage than those of 236, and the decoration of the situla is more consistent with the end of the Second Period at Este than the beginning.[2]

West of Verona there is little, if any, trace of Atestine influence, except that the striped 'Golaseccan' pottery is found both at Este and on the sites of the Somma plateau near the Ticino. Otherwise there is little evidence of close intercourse between the Atestines and the Iron Age people of the Italian Lakes, whom I term 'Golaseccans' and 'Comacines'.

Istria. Discoveries at Santa Lucia

On the east of Venetia the geography would naturally lead us to expect a new archaeological province, beginning about the line of the Isonzo, and explorations undertaken in Istria during the last forty years bear out this expectation. A series of cemeteries has been discovered in Venezia Giulia, of which Santa Lucia is the best known and the most important. This is a site five kilometres from Tolmino, placed exactly at the point where the river Idria runs into the Isonzo. Here in the years 1884–92 Marchesetti excavated nearly 3,000 graves on behalf of the museum of Trieste, while Szombathy excavated another 2,500 for the Vienna Museum of Natural History.

The results of Marchesetti's work have been summarized in a useful volume accompanied by thirty plates of illustrations,[3] from which the student can gather a general idea of the character of the antiquities, though he is not given the opportunity of studying them according to their grouping in the tombs.

[1] Account in *Not. Scavi*, 1883, pp. 102–9. The situla is illustrated and described in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, cols. 37–40.

[2] The situla is illustrated in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 31, and described in cols. 33–6. See also *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xi, p. 193, and the original account by Stefani in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arte*, Ser. VI, vol. 3. The objects are in the Museo Preistorico at Rome.

[3] Marchesetti, *Scavi nella necropoli di S. Lucia presso Tolmino* (Trieste, tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1893).

It becomes evident at once that the Istrian civilization belongs to the same ethnical stock as that of the Villanovans, and equally evident that it is a very distinct species, quite remarkably unlike the Atestine, except in its fundamental identity of burial rites and customs. The Istrians, as seen at Santa Lucia, are a cremating people who bury the ashes of their dead either in simple holes in the ground or in large cinerary urns, which are usually of pottery and only in the case of the wealthiest individuals are of bronze. With the ashes of the cremation are placed a few objects, and it is from the character of those objects that we must attempt to estimate the culture of the people and the chronology of the cemeteries.

First, then, in regard to dating it must be pointed out that we ought to proceed with a considerable degree of caution. A certain number of objects are immediately recognizable as identical with examples found in northern or central Italy. These are sufficient to prove that Santa Lucia was an important and flourishing place in the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ. But behind this all is uncertain. I am far from asserting that the Istrian cemeteries cannot begin before 500 B.C.; but I am quite unwilling to accept without much more cogent evidence than has yet been offered the statement that they belong to three periods, dating respectively from the tenth to the eighth, from the eighth to the sixth, and from the sixth to the fourth centuries.[1] There is scarcely anything in Marchesetti's plates or description which can suggest a date earlier than the sixth century; for fibulae which at first sight may seem to be more ancient, and are actually quite archaic in type, are proved by the pendants and other accessories attached to them to be at least as late as the Certosan period. It is therefore only with the Third Period of Este that any useful comparisons can be made; though it may be allowed that the obviously imported pottery with bronze studs, of which a few poor specimens occur, may date back into the Second Period.

In the Third Period, then, we can detect the existence of a certain limited trade with Este in the presence of red-and-black banded pottery, and we may also note the occurrence of that striped 'stralucida' ware which is common both to Golasecca and to Este. Many of the fibulae belong to classes which are disseminated all over North Italy, and are by no means peculiar to Este, such as the Certosa, the serpentine, and the boat-fibulae with side-studs. Quite distinctive and characteristic, however, are several forms which are scarcely ever seen[2] at Este; these are ribbed or knotted semicircular bows with the

[1] This is Marchesetti's dating as given in his lecture of 1922 on 'Le prische civiltà della Venezia Giulia'. In his earlier work on the cemetery of S. Lucia he had been content to claim that it was 'at least as early as the sixth century'.

[2] One fibula of this class was found in the Benvenuti tomb; see above, p. 32, and Plate 7, no. 16.

shortest possible catch-points. Their appearance is deceptive, for they bear a general likeness to very archaic forms, but are actually not earlier than the fifth century. This is demonstrated by the ornaments attached to them, bronze pendants in the forms of bullae or of buckets, small triangular plaques decorated with simple repoussé patterns, bracelets and rings with indented margins. All these small objects resemble those found around Como and Lago Maggiore, in what I term the Late Comacine Period (see Plate 19), so closely that they must have some common derivation. I shall discuss this question further in the next chapter in connexion with the Comacine regions.

It is noteworthy that the important bronze industry of Este seems to have exercised hardly any direct influence on Santa Lucia. The majority of bronze vessels found there were situlae, but there were also some ribbed cists. In each of these classes the types are distinctly of the Bolognese and not of the Atestine pattern. Whenever the situlae are not recognizable as evident importations from the Bolognese market they are of new and rather barbaric forms, which may well have been made by Istrian apprentices on the spot. So that everything at Santa Lucia seems to show the Istrians to be a primitive and backward people, suddenly developing prosperity and new civilization under the impetus of trade with their more advanced neighbours. That this trade was sometimes sea-borne is shown by the occurrence on another Istrian site, Nesazio, of numerous late Greek vases of the kinds that were manufactured in Southern Italy.

III

GOLASECCANS AND COMACINES

THE archaeology of Lombardy in the Iron Age centres upon the two great lakes Maggiore and Como, and this is the only part of the province for which there exists any but the most fragmentary and sporadic material. In this region, however, may be observed dense settlements of the same mid-European and Danubian stock which in Latium, Etruria, and round Bologna had developed into the several Villanovan nations, while in Venetia it had produced the Atestines and the Istrians.

At what date these Comacines, as I have called them, settled into their homes between the Alps and the Po, and by what routes they arrived there, I shall try to determine in this chapter. The course of the inquiry will show that the fundamental identity of their burial customs proves the Comacines to be racially akin to Villanovans, Atestines, and Istrians, but that their material culture was sufficiently independent and original to justify us in regarding them as a separate nation. This culture is fairly uniform in its general characteristics, so that it is convenient to include the whole area from Maggiore to Garda under the single name of Comacine. Nevertheless there are strongly marked local differences; the Golaseccans on the Ticino are by no means identical in all respects with the inhabitants of Lake Como, and may very probably have belonged to a different set of clans or even a different tribe.

The region occupied by the Comacines may be understood from a study of the map in Plate 21. On the east it would be bounded by a line almost conterminous with the modern division between Lombardy and Venetia; Vadena near Bolzano is perhaps more Comacine than Atestine, but otherwise the line of cleavage is given by the course of the Adige continued southwards to the Po by the course of the Mincio. On the west the Alps themselves form the natural boundary, though little or nothing has been discovered beyond the Sesia. On the south a line drawn through Novara, Milan, and Brescia would include nine-tenths of the known material, but would not perhaps mark a positive boundary. On the north the culture of the Comacines is continued with slight local modifications in the Swiss cemeteries of Canton Ticino; but the burial rite changes abruptly and completely at the north end of Lake Maggiore.

The cemeteries about Bellinzona must therefore be attributed to a different race, though there must have been the closest possible intercourse and exchange of products between those people and their Comacine neighbours.

The Cemeteries known as Golasecca

The cemeteries on the lower Ticino are generally described under the comprehensive name of Golasecca, which is strictly speaking only one of a number of sites grouped close together on the Somma plateau a few miles below the point where the river issues from the lake. Castelfranco, who has done more than any one man to throw light on the archaeology of this district, described the ' so-called cemetery of Golasecca ' as occupying an area of about thirty-seven square kilometres through which the river Ticino flows. On the left bank are Somma, Vergiate, Sesto Calende, and Golasecca itself ; on the right are Castelletto Ticino and the Lazzaretto of Borgo Ticino.

The first discoveries of prehistoric tombs in this region were made a hundred years ago by an enterprising, if somewhat old-fashioned scholar, the Abbé G. B. Giani. He excavated fifty or more graves on the Somma plateau, and wrote an account of them accompanied by some creditable drawings which have served as a quarry of material for later authors.

Giani believed, as it was quite reasonable to believe in the early nineteenth century, that he had discovered the site where Scipio sustained his great defeat at the hands of Hannibal. The book is consequently entitled *Battaglia del Ticino tra Annibale e Scipione*,[1] and is largely taken up with a description of the supposed tactics and manœuvres employed by Carthaginians and Romans. It is well written and pleasant to read even in our own day, while the descriptions of the tombs, weapons, and ornaments are still quite valuable.[2]

As prehistoric archaeology began to develop in Italy during the next two generations it gradually became evident that the meritorious Giani had mistaken the dating of his discoveries, and that they really belonged to a period very long before Hannibal. And so, when comparative material became available from numerous sites round Bologna as well as in other parts of the country, it was recognized that the cemeteries on the Ticino ought really to be compared with those of the Villanovans.

In 1874 Castelfranco, who had then been studying and excavating round Golasecca for about three years, read a paper before the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology at Stockholm, in which he

[1] Milan, 1824, with eight plates and two maps.

[2] The most important of the drawings have been reproduced by Montelius. A good many objects from Giani's collection are in the museum at Milan, and there are some also at St. Germain-en-Laye.

Plate II

ROVEREDO
BELLINZONA
Ticino
Giubiasco
Pianezzo
GRAVEDONA
LAGO DI COMO
Tesserete
PORLEZZA
LUGANO
LUINO
LAGO MAGGIORE
LAGO DI LUGANO
BELLAGIO
Rovio
PALLANZA
MENDRISIO
Malgesso
Lago di Varese
Mitlnate
S.Fermo
COMO
Civiglio
Breccia
Rebbio
Grandate
Albate
Bernate
ARONA
CANTU
Sesto Calende
Castelletto
Golasecca
SOMMA
Ticino
Map of the
ITALIAN LAKES
to show the relation of the
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SITES
Miles
0 5 10
Kilometers
0 5 10 15

described the extent and character of the sites on the Somma plateau.[1] Two years later he followed this with a very important essay in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, entitled 'Due periodi della prima età del ferro nella necropoli di Golasecca'.[2]

These two publications have been the principal source of all the studies on Golasecca up to the present day.[3]

Castelfranco's Account of Golasecca

The huge necropolis of the Ticino occupies, says Castelfranco, a pentagonal area bounded by the villages called Sesto Calende, Borgo Ticino, Coarezza, Somma, and Vergiate. Here the terminal moraine of the glacier forms a considerable plateau extending on both sides of the river, furrowed in every direction by torrents and rainstorms. Here and there small eminences rise from the plateau, which is a barren tract covered with heath and broom with a few pines and an occasional oak. The ground was by no means easy to explore, so that although many hundreds of tombs have been opened there at different times by authorized and unauthorized excavators,[4] no one except Castelfranco has left an intelligent and systematic account of the remains. He describes these remains as consisting of very simple tombs, each containing a single cinerary urn, and of enclosures or circles made of unworked stones. These enclosures had been partially described in 1866 by G. de Mortillet,[5] who considered them to be later than the tombs. Castelfranco combats this view, saying that he had always found a tomb in the centre of every circle that he explored, and that the tombs found in such positions contained precisely the same pottery as those which stood isolated from any enclosure.

He describes and figures three groups of enclosures, the plans of which are reproduced by Montelius in his Plate 43. I give the two most interesting of them here as Fig. 17 and Fig. 18. In Fig. 17 the circles marked A and B contained unplundered tombs, C had been already excavated but yielded a fragment of a cinerary urn, while a fourth tomb was found at the point D near the end of the corridor. The small crosses on the plan mark the sites of tombs already destroyed, the larger crosses show tombs which Castelfranco himself excavated.

[1] *Congrès international d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistorique. Compte rendu de la 7me Session*, Stockholm, 1874, pp. 388–404.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ii, 1876, pp. 87–106. There is an article with practically the same contents in the *Revue archéologique* of 1877.

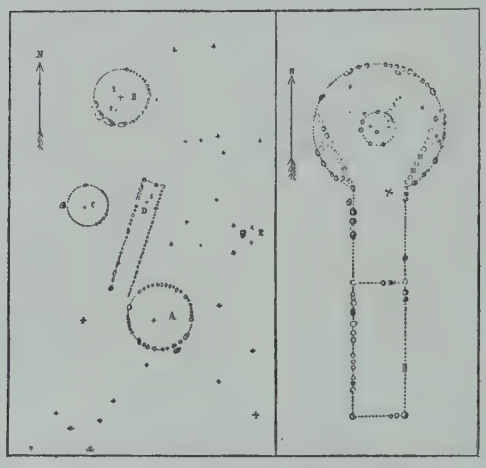
[3] They are summarized in the text of Montelius, cols. 231–47.

[4] The known and accredited excavations are those made by Giani, by Castelfranco himself, by Abel Maître in 1873, and by the museum of Torino in 1876. Besides these there have been constant unauthorized plunderings. It is impossible to state the total number of graves opened, but it probably amounts to several thousands.

[5] *Revue archéologique*, janvier, 1866, 'Sépultures anciennes du plateau de Somma'.

Fig. 18 shows the most important of all the enclosures, a circle nearly 17 metres in diameter enclosing a smaller circle $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres in diameter, approached by a corridor 30 metres long. There was one burial within the small circle and three more within the outer circle.[1]

Besides the three groups which he describes in detail Castelfranco states that he counted the traces of forty-seven others on the plateau. Giani had remarked the existence of quadrilateral and circular stone enclosures in 1824, when they may have been less ruined by time and by the far more destructive hands of the agriculturist or the excavator. The good abbé naturally explained them as emplacements of tents, but his evidence is valuable as corroborating to some extent the observations of Castelfranco. There is no hint in Giani's book of tombs being found within the circles, but he may very well have thought it merely useless to dig there; it is quite evident that the circles were numerous on the sites that he explored.



Figs. 17, 18. Plans of stone circles at Golasecca. From Montelius, Plate 43. After Castelfranco. Scale 1 : 900.

These stone circles are a new and very puzzling feature. The closest analogies to them in Italy are to be seen in circles found at Terni and Tolentino, mentioned later in my fourth chapter.[2] But it is hard to see how there can be any real connexion between the two series, for not only are they separated in distance by half the length of the peninsula, but the Tolentino circles at least belong to an inhuming people, the Picenes, who are of a totally different race and civilization.

There were stone circles on the Etruscan site of Perazzeta, but here again the rite was inhumation, and the people were of a different race; it cannot be suggested for a moment that the Golaseccans were Etruscan, and it seems very improbable that they would have borrowed an Etruscan model of tomb-building even if they had been geographically in contact with them, which was not the case. The only hint of any similar construction among a cremating people in Italy is furnished by the peculiar Villanovan burials of Vetulonia, where, as I have described in my previous book,[3] there were three instances of large rings of stone enclosing a group of urn-burials. But at Vetulonia these

[1] For more details see the summary in Montelius, cols. 237–9.

[2] Tolentino is illustrated in Montelius, Plate 157.

[3] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 103, 104.

Villanovan circles were wholly exceptional, and could be explained by the influence of the neighbouring community of Etruscans, who were actually burying on the same site and furnished an immediate pattern for imitation. In default of any better explanation it might be suggested that the circles are a local variation of the tumuli found on the plateaux of Switzerland, where incineration was the usual practice of the Early Iron Age.[1] This would entail the corollary that the Golaseccans had reached their homes on the Ticino by a migration from the Swiss highlands, which is not an impossible theory, though there is little else in its favour. Against it certainly is the fact that stone circles are entirely unknown among the neighbouring people of Como, whose nearest cemeteries are only a few miles away.

The construction of the graves was apparently the same whether enclosed within a circle or not. Castelfranco describes the types as four in number, viz. (1) a simple round hole in which the ossuary was placed without any protection; (2) small stones heaped up round the ossuary, which rested on a bed of similar small stones, and was sometimes covered with a boulder or a slab; (3) tombs of which the sides and top were formed of rough slabs while the bottom was a layer of small stones; (4) cists composed of several irregular unworked slabs. These methods of grave-making are practically identical with those generally employed by Comacines, Atestines, and Villanovans of all branches. A good instance of a cist-grave is that given by Montelius in his Plate 43, no. 2, from one of the drawings by Giani, whose own descriptions of the tomb-forms are excellent. The famous Sesto Calende tomb (Fig. 20) seems to have been of the second type, if we may judge from Biondelli's sketch.

The contents of the tombs were poor. There was invariably a cinerary urn of pottery covered with a pottery bowl turned upside down; this contained the cremated ashes, a small accessory vase, and often, but not always, fibulae, weapons, and small objects of bronze, iron, amber, or glass, principally of the nature of personal ornaments. Outside the cinerary urn were sometimes several smaller jars and bowls.

There is a good deal of variation in the pottery, and on this more than anything else Castelfranco has based his famous division of the Golasecca tombs into two periods.

[1] Cf. the remarks of Viollier and Blanc on Swiss tumuli in *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, Bd. XV, p. 283.

The Theory of Two Periods at Golasecca

To illustrate his argument I show in Plate 12 a series belonging to his ' First Period ', and in Plate 13 a series belonging to his ' Second Period ' ; these have been specially photographed from cases in the museum at Milan, arranged according to Castelfranco's own system.[1]

The two bottom rows, nos. 10–17 in Plate 12, consist entirely of large jars used as ossuaries, and should be compared and contrasted with the ossuaries nos. 9–13 of Plate 13. First in respect of form, the ossuaries of the ' First Period ', shown in Plate 12, have their maximum diameter about half-way down ; they are of a more spherical outline than those of Plate 13, which are rather elongated with the maximum diameter near the top. Secondly, the style and technique of decoration is different in the two plates, and this distinction applies not only to the ossuaries but to all the pottery of whatever size and shape. In Plate 12, whenever there is any ornamentation it is incised with a point on the surface of the clay before baking ; but in Plate 13 the patterns are never incised, they are produced by a process that is really rudimentary painting.

We are told that in both periods the pottery was made by hand,[2] but that in the ' Second Period ' the clay is purified and the surface very often covered with a slip or *ingubbiatura* of red or black clay which is finely burnished. I may describe the process of ornamentation by saying that upon this slip were laid lines, reticulations, or triangles of a similar clay, slightly darker in tone but of the same quality and character, which were again finely burnished. The scheme is generally almost monochrome, lines of black on a blackish grey background, or lines of purple on a red background ; there were no violent contrasts of colour as in the banded pottery of Este. This is the style of ornamentation which Castelfranco calls *stralucido*, a term which we might perhaps render as double-burnished if we wish to distinguish the process from genuine painting, which produces its effect not with variations of monochrome but by actual colour. Pottery of this style is found, as we saw in the last chapter, at Este, where I have described it as the ' striped Golaseccan ware ' ; and its occurrence in both places is one of the few signs of intercourse between Este and the Ticino. On the other hand, the banded red-and-black ware of Este occurs very rarely if ever[3] at Golasecca. Under the base of the vases in

[1] Cf. Montelius, Plates 43 and 44, in which nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15 of Plate 43, with nos. 1, 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18 of Plate 44, belong to the ' First ', while 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13 of Plate 43 and 2, 5, 15 of Plate 44 are classified as ' Second ' Period. Besides the specimens which Montelius has copied from Castelfranco, de Mortillet, and Giani, the reader should study his original drawings, given in his Plate 45, of pottery from Castelletto Ticino.

[2] Actually the pottery of the ' Second ' Period is generally wheel-made.

[3] My reservation is made in order to cover one

both periods there is often a potter's mark ; the fact that the mark is sometimes in the form of a cross has awakened an interest which has nothing to do with the present subject.[1]

Now a comparison of Plate 12 with Plate 13 does undoubtedly bear out Castelfranco's contention that there are two strongly contrasted schools of pottery-making at Golasecca. But as we have his own statement that the two styles were sometimes combined in a single tomb [2] there is not the slightest reason for accepting his theory that there was a sudden break and interruption in the history.[3] As to dating, there is of course a certain *a priori* probability that the advanced technique of the *stralucido* ware represents a chronological stage later than the rough incised pottery, but pottery taken by itself without supporting evidence is of very little value as a criterion.

Castelfranco attempts to apply another criterion as well, viz. the style of the fibulae and ornaments. This is a sound method and he makes some good observations, which, however, are entirely marred by one misinterpretation. Peculiar to the ' First Period ', he says, are short-shanked bronze fibulae of the leech and boat forms, while long-shanked types are peculiar to the second. Iron fibulae are never found except in the Second Period, and the serpentine or sanguisuga forms with a ball at the end of the catch-point also belong exclusively to the second. All this is obviously sound, and we need not hesitate to accept one or two minor points of distinction between the two ' periods ', such as the different style of the bracelets, and the greater frequency of iron in the ' Second Period '. The statement, however, that amber and glass paste belong exclusively to the ' Second Period ' contradicts all the experience derived from other Italian sites, and requires at least some detailed evidence to support it.

But the really serious misconception which destroys the value of a great deal of his classification is Castelfranco's erroneous dating of the ribbed fibula, the ' fibula a grandi coste ', which is shown here as my Fig. 19. This is a very misleading type. Some writers have pointed out its resemblance to a form which occurs in the lake dwellings, and have been inclined to give it a very high degree of antiquity. Castelfranco does not suggest this, and he quite rightly classifies it as later than the simple bow-fibula ; but he emphatically states that the fibula with large ribs is found ' only in the most ancient tombs of the First Period ', and that it ' had wholly disappeared in the Second '.[4]

or two instances in the museum of Milan in which the surface is too much damaged to allow of a positive assertion, but it looks as though there had been red and black bands.

[1] G. de Mortillet, *Le signe de la croix avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1866, p. 124.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. iii, p. 210.

[3] Ibid., p. 206, ' Secondo me non si tratta di un continuo progresso, bensì di un cambiamento repentino, spiccatissimo.'

[4] Ibid., vol. iv, p. 59.

And yet when we come to study the occurrence of this fibula on the sites round Como we shall find that it occurs at all stages down to the very last generation before La Tène, a fact which is fully corroborated by the analysis of the Swiss cemeteries in Canton Ticino, where the ribbed fibula is found in conjunction with the Certosa fibula.[1] Indeed, it is only because the Golasecca material has always been so scanty and so much dispersed that it was possible to misconceive the true dating of this type. When a considerable number of groups can be studied together, as in the museum of Como or Zürich, the truth at once becomes evident.

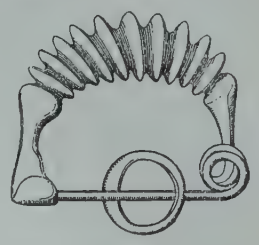


Fig. 19. Bronze ribbed fibula. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ii, tav. ii. Scale ⅔.

If, then, the criterion of pottery is unconvincing, and the distinction between fibulae fails at its most crucial point, there is very little left of the principle of division into 'First' and 'Second' Periods at Golasecca. Indeed, more than one instance came up, even in Castelfranco's own lifetime, when he was severely embarrassed to explain a tomb containing objects which on his theory should have belonged to two different periods. So, then, it is high time that this useless and misleading division was abolished, even though it has found a place in the best of modern text-books. When a difficult case arises for examination, as for instance the tomb of Sesto Calende, a writer has been able to escape too easily from hazarding a real judgement by the comparatively safe expedient of ascribing it to the 'First' or 'Second' Period of Golasecca, thereby allowing himself a latitude of two or three centuries. It would be far better that he should be obliged to say downright whether he believes the tomb to be of the eighth century or whether he believes it to be of the fourth. The subject of Golasecca is sufficiently difficult under any circumstances, and it is not made easier by any careless tolerance of ambiguities.

[1] *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N. F., Band LX, pp. 19–22.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 12, 13

Plate 12. GOLASECCA. The earlier types of pottery, representing the 'First Period', according to Castelfranco's argument.

Photographs taken in the museum at Milan.

Plate 13. GOLASECCA. The later types, representing the 'Second Period', according to Castelfranco's argument.

Photographs taken in the museum at Milan.

GOLASECCA. The Earlier Types of Pottery

GOLASECCA. The Later Types of Pottery

The Material from Golasecca

The greatest difficulties in regard to Golasecca, as I have already indicated, are due to the defective character of the evidence. That any considerable quantity of material has been saved for study is principally due to the energy and interest of Castelfranco himself. His collection has now passed into the museum of Milan, which possesses also a part of Giani's collection, the contents of the famous Sesto Calende tomb, and various individual objects of some importance. It is therefore the principal, it might almost be said the only place, in which Golasecca can be studied systematically. Even there, however, the material is very scanty in proportion to the size and importance of the cemeteries. In the museum of Torino may be seen the tomb groups derived from an excavation of 120 graves at Castelletto Ticino ; but these graves were unfortunately so poor that no useful analysis can be founded upon them ; at Torino, however, there are one or two quite valuable individual specimens which are illustrated in Plate 15.

In the museum of Como the Quaglia collection contains a considerable quantity of pottery and some other objects from Castelletto Ticino, and the Museo Preistorico at Rome has a good representative series of objects from several sites. When all this has been put together, however, it amounts to a very small quantity of salvage from a century's intermittent wrecking of vast cemeteries.

The Sesto Calende Tomb

I have reserved the very important tomb of Sesto Calende for separate treatment. The story of the discovery of this tomb is told as follows by Biondelli, whose rare publication [1] is the only first-hand authority on the subject. In the middle of March 1867 a farmer of Sesto Calende was ploughing his field, when he found his operations stopped by a heap of large boulders piled up in the centre of the field. Proceeding to remove them he found beneath the stones, at a depth of rather over a metre and a half, various objects of bronze and iron broken and crushed beneath the weight of the stones, and much damaged by oxidization. He continued to dig, and soon found numerous sherds of pottery mixed with ashes and burned human bones, and two small vases almost unbroken. Near by were quantities of wood ashes which Biondelli interprets as the remains of a funeral pyre.

[1] B. Biondelli, 'Di una tomba Gallo-Italica scoperta a Sesto Calende sul Ticino', published in *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e politiche*, vol. x (i della Serie III), 1867.

The objects were all bought for a few francs by a local resident, who sold them for a much more substantial sum to the Consulta Archaeologica of Milano, by whom they were placed in the Brera Museum. From the Brera they have since been transferred to the Museo Sforzesco in the Castello, where they may be seen together with the other collections from Golasecca.

From Biondelli's description it would appear that the tomb was about two metres deep and covered with a small tumulus; he makes no statement as to its length or breadth. The objects contained in it are shown in the accompanying Fig. 20, disposed according to the arrangement in which the finder stated that he found them. First, and by far the most important, is the bronze situla, which can only be seen in fragments in the sketch of the tomb, but which is shown in its restored form as Fig. 21. It is decorated with two zones of figures executed in *pointillé* —the details of which appear in nos. 1, 2, 3, of my Plate 14. In no. 5 of the same plate may be seen one of a pair of iron objects, which no doubt formed part of the chariot; no. 4 is an iron horse-bit; no. 6 is a bronze helmet; no. 7 is an iron spear which had an iron butt; no. 8 is an iron sword which had a bronze sheath.

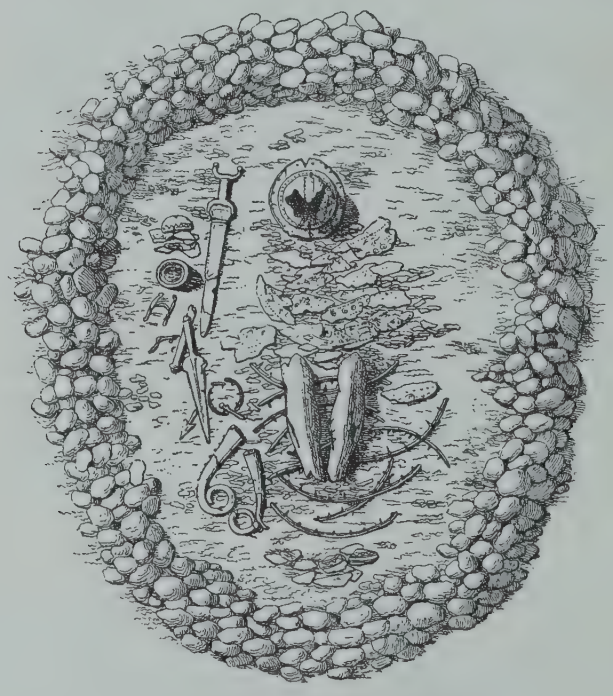


Fig. 20. Sketch-plan of the Sesto Calende tomb. From Biondelli.

The other objects found in the tomb which I do not illustrate but Montelius has reproduced, after Biondelli's drawings, in his Plate 62, are as follows: a pottery ossuary with its lid, a ribbed accessory pot, bronze greaves, an iron javelin, iron chariot-wheel, iron nail or spike for the wheel, and two little fruit-stands of black ware of which only the bottom half is shown by Montelius and by Biondelli.

One or two remarks should be made on the pottery. As to the ossuary, it is in fragments, and Biondelli's restoration of it, copied by Montelius, is certainly inaccurate. There is no need to give it an elongated form; it might

well have been, and probably was, of the more spherical shape characteristic of Castelfranco's 'First' Period. It is of black ware incised with triangles formed not by dots but by lines, which are filled in with white. The little food-stands are of black ware with two raised mouldings round the pedestal, 13½ centimetres high and 20 centimetres in diameter across the top of the bowl. The only other pottery consists of a few fragments of a plain black bowl; there is no *stralucido* ware. The pottery, therefore, quite clearly belongs to the more primitive style shown in my Plate 12.

The Situla of Sesto Calende

I will now describe the much debated situla. It is 56 centimetres in maximum height and 19 centimetres in diameter at the base, made as usual of hammered sheets riveted together, with a lid 37 centimetres in diameter. It is ornamented in an extremely barbaric style with figures executed in a technique that was never used for figured scenes at Este or Bologna, and which shows a quite inexperienced hand. There are five zones (Fig. 21), the uppermost of which is occupied by a row of studs, and the second and fourth by a row of concentric circles in repoussé; there is nothing remarkable in these zones, which might perfectly well have been found on any of the situlae of Bologna or Este.[1] The unique and extraordinary zones are the third and fifth.

In the third zone is a row of birds, in the fifth a row of animals and men portrayed not by the ordinary method of repoussé but by the curiously primitive device of outlining the figures with small consecutive dots and filling the body between the outlines with rows of larger dots, a process generally called *pointillé*. There is no analogy at all for this style of work at Bologna or at Este, but another situla from Lombardy which was found at Trezzo and is illustrated in Plate 18, no. 5, has figures of animals executed in *pointillé*. An even closer parallel to one part of our subject, however, is afforded by a situla from Santa Lucia in Istria,[2] on which there is a row of birds very roughly worked in *pointillé*. Remembering that in my last chapter I pointed out the identity of so many small objects at Santa Lucia with those of the Comacine region, I am inclined to think that this resemblance is not a mere coincidence.

The subject of the fifth zone is explained by Biondelli as a hunt; by Ghirardini as a sacrifice.

From left to right in order are shown (Plate 14, line 2) an antlered stag,

[1] e. g. the specimens shown in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, cols. 11, 19, 28. The closest parallel, however, is that of the situla of Asolo from the province of Treviso, shown in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 38, fig. 8.

[2] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, col. 42, fig. 10.

a doe suckling its fawn, two men confronting one another with uplifted arms, and a bird drawn vertically upright for spacing. Then come (Plate 14, line 3) a man riding on horseback, a man following a horned animal on foot, and two men on foot, one of whom wears a dagger at his belt and is clutching the horned head, while the other is armed with an axe.

To any one unfamiliar with the figured situlae of Este and Bologna there would seem to be almost unlimited possibilities in regard to the dating of such infantile work, and there has actually been a considerable divergence of opinion among good authorities. The earliest dating ever suggested is that which was proposed by Bertrand and S. Reinach in their well-known book on the Celts.[1] Here the tomb is ascribed to the eighth century, 'if not earlier'. Montelius figures the objects under the heading 'époque gauloise', and rather ambiguously describes them in his text as belonging to 'the Hallstatt period'. Hoernes in his *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*[2] definitely assigns the Sesto Calende situla to the end of the Hallstatt or beginning of the La Tène period, judging not merely from the evidence of style but from the character of all the objects found in the tomb.

FIG. 21. Bronze situla of the Sesto Calende tomb. From Biondelli. Scale ⅓.

Ghirardini, judging from internal evidence alone, that is to say from the actual motives portrayed on the situla, agrees with Hoernes, classing it as a clumsy imitation of the Benvenuti or some other Venetian original. And the longer one studies the subject the more this conclusion seems inevitable. It is inconceivable that there could be so many coincidences of detail if the origins were independent. To take only the most obvious. The two men in an attitude like boxers, the man with the axe, the man grasping a horned head, are all motives with which we are perfectly familiar from the Certosa situla. They form part of the regular repertoire adopted by every ambitious bronze-worker, but seldom used so clumsily or with such an infantile naïveté. This is childish art, but it is not primitive art, and the simplicity of the technique must not deceive us. The dating suggested by Hoernes, equivalent to about 500 B.C., harmonizes all the factors. It allows

[1] *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Po et du Danube*, pp. 49, 50. Paris, 1894.
[2] Edition of 1898, p. 658.

time for the good Etruscan originals to have been seen and known even in these distant regions, it does not conflict with the inference which must be drawn from the absence of Certosa fibulae that no Golasecca graves can be later than 450, and it provides a perfectly acceptable dating for the other objects found in the tomb.

Evidence of other objects as to date of Sesto Calende Tomb

We may now briefly review these objects. The most important and the most highly characterized is the iron dagger or short sword, no. 8 in Plate 14, which had a bronze sheath on which Biondelli says that some ornamentation was distinguishable.[1] Short swords or daggers of this type are not very early in date; they are derived originally from the long antennae-swords, and belong to a well-known stage in the Hallstatt series. Déchelette, who discusses them in his *Manuel d'Archéologie* (vol. ii², pp. 730–43), ascribes them all to the 'second phase of Hallstatt', and points out their very wide diffusion over Europe. In Italy their possible range is from about 700 to 400 B.C.

The bronze helmet in Plate 14, no. 6, is compared by Déchelette to one from Watsch,[2] but it might perhaps better be compared to some of the helmets from Novilara, especially the one shown by Montelius in his Plate 146, no. 3, the date of which is about 700 B.C.[3]

The iron spear, no. 7 in Plate 14, might belong to almost any period after iron had come into such constant use as to replace bronze. The Novilara analogies are scarcely close enough to be important (cf. below, Plate 23, nos. 16, 20).

As for the iron horse-bit and the iron chariot-wheels, they are found at Vetulonia and in the Arnoaldi period at Bologna. The ornamental horns of the chariot might be of any date from the seventh century downwards, and the same may be said of the bronze greaves.[4]

It is clear then that, though the objects found in the tomb have a possible range of two or three centuries, there is scarcely one of them which could not quite well be assigned to 500 B.C. It is the situla, not the other objects, on which the precise dating of the tomb depends, but I consider the evidence of the situla to be irresistible.

[1] 'Il brano superiore serba ancora ornati a rilievo che si accostano a quelli della situla.' In the present condition of the sheath they cannot be detected.

[2] *Manuel*, vol. ii², p. 594.

[3] This is the only apparent discrepancy in the dating of the Sesto Calende tomb to 500. But it is easier to suppose that the pattern of helmet has survived than to carry back the date of the situla.

[4] There is ornamental ironwork on the chariot of Castellina in Chianti. Bronze greaves were found at Vetulonia, though no doubt they are more frequent in classical Greek times. See *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 254 and pp. 123, 133, 136.

Though disagreeing with Bertrand and S. Reinach as to the dating of the Sesto Calende tomb, Hoernes nevertheless endorses their opinion as to its character by stating that ' this is undoubtedly the grave of a Gaulish warrior '. I find this very hard to accept, if it is intended in its literal sense. For the Gauls of the east coast of Italy, where their graves are best known, were not a cremating but an inhuming people. Their armament also was different ; nothing could be more unlike the short sword seen in Plate 14 than the long sword of the Gauls at Montefortino.[1] The Golaseccans may, as I have suggested, have come to their homes on the Ticino from a country possibly occupied already by Gauls and Celts ; but there is nothing in their customs or equipment to suggest any close kinship to the fourth-century Gauls who threatened Rome.

[1] Or the real La Tène swords of the Second La Tène period as seen on the Bellinzona sites.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 14

PLATE 14. GOLASECCA.

Contents of the Sesto Calende tomb.

No. 1, extended drawing of the upper zone on the bronze situla. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Nos. 2, 3, extended drawing of the lower zone on the bronze situla. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 4, iron curved piece from a chariot. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 5, iron horse-bit. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

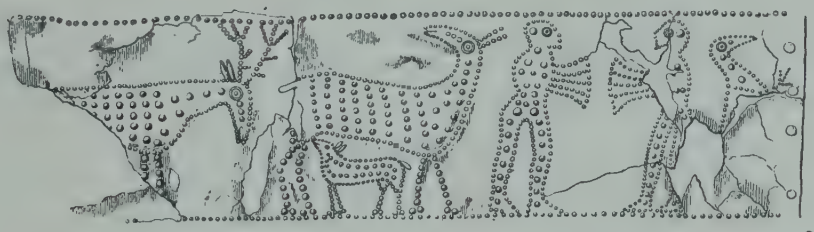
No. 6, bronze helmet. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 7, iron spear. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 8, iron sword. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

From the drawings in Biondelli, *Di una tomba Gallo-Italica scoperta a Sesto Calende sul Ticino*, Milano, 1867.

1



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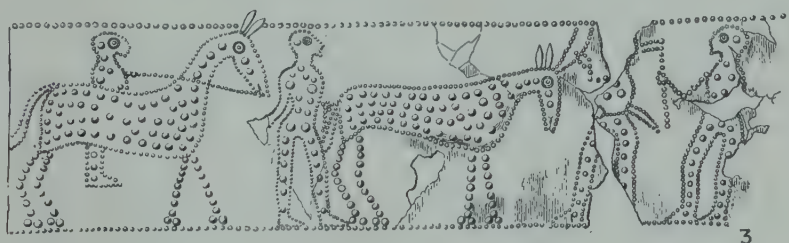

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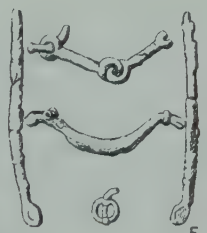

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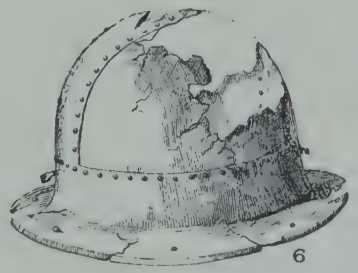

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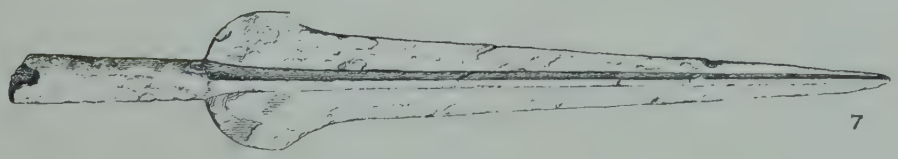

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8

GOLASECCA. The Tomb of Sesto Calende

The Situla of Trezzo and other Bronze work

With the situla of Sesto Calende should be compared a situla found at Trezzo on the banks of the Adda east of Monza, which is shown in no. 5 of Plate 18.[1] This is ornamented in the same *pointillé* technique with very rude figures of animals which are apparently intended to represent dogs and deer, the horned and hornless animals alternating. The lid has a simple geometrical decoration shown as no. 3 in Plate 18. In the same grave were found a bronze situletta, no. 6, and an iron axe, no. 7, as well as the fine necklace, no. 4 in Plate 18. In nos. 1 and 2 of the same plate are shown two fragments, of which the first at least must be the shank of a fibula. I have tried by searching among the fragments of bronze preserved with the contents of the tomb at Milan to establish the form of the fibula, but conjectures are rather too hazardous, and I must be content to point out that it is certainly a pre-Certosan type.

Having established the date of the Sesto Calende situla, however, I am quite content to say that the Trezzo tomb is virtually contemporary with it, though the drawing of the figures is even more rudimentary.[2] The bronze necklace closely resembles one found at Lazzaretto near Golasecca, which is in the museum at Milan, and may be compared with no. 14 in Plate 18, which comes from a site near Como.

The only other really important examples of bronze work from the Ticino cemeteries are a bowl and a cist shown by Montelius in his Plate 45, and a situla given in col. 255 of his text. The bowl is a curiously barbaric production from the site of Castelletto Ticino ;[3] it is said to have been found in conjunction with a figured situla, of which, however, even the fragments have disappeared. It is certainly not earlier than the fifth century, and may be regarded as an expression of crude local art inspired by Etruscan suggestions. During the same series of excavations and perhaps in the same tomb was found the ribbed cist, but the bronze situla came from Lazzaretto. These two are probably importations from one of the well-established centres of bronze-working, such as Bologna, where such objects were very common and were no doubt freely manufactured for export.

[1] Described by Caimi in *Bollettino della Consulta archeologica del Museo storico-artistico di Milano*, Anno IV, 1877.

[2] The entire contents of the Trezzo grave are in the Milan museum. It is discussed by Ghirardini in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, col. 117, and by Hoernes in his *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, p. 658 (ed. of 1898). Montelius describes the objects and illustrates them in his Plate 46. The inventory given by Caimi includes glass beads and fragments of glass vases. No details are known as to the form of the grave.

[3] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ii. col. 182, and vol. x, cols. 125–8.

The necklaces and pendants shown in Plate 15 are exceedingly interesting on account of their similarity to Picene ornaments which will be described in my fourth chapter.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 15

PLATE 15. GOLASECCA.

No. 1, necklace of amber discs, spaced by tubular beads of bronze.

No. 2, necklace of bronze with bronze pendants.

No. 3, pendant of bronze with rods terminating in twelve amulets of cowry shape.

No. 4, necklace of bronze chain-work, with bronze pendants.

Nos. 1, 3, 4 are from photographs specially taken in the museum of Turin.

No. 2, the original of which has disappeared, is from Montelius, Plate 44, no. 10.

The scale of nos. 1, 2, 4 is $\frac{1}{3}$, of no. 3 is $\frac{2}{5}$.

1

2

3

4

GOLASECCA. Bronze Necklaces and Pendants

Dating of the Golasecca Sites

There has been an inclination on the part of some archaeologists to date the Golasecca sites too high. The fibulae shown by Giani in his drawings to the *Battaglia del Ticino* are all quite late types like nos. 16 and 18 of my Plate 16. Castelfranco has recorded some which are a little earlier, the most striking being no. 3 in Montelius's Plate 44. But neither in his collection nor Giani's nor among the specimens in the museum of Torino is there any evidence of a date earlier than the eighth century, while the enormous majority of the graves are clearly between 700 and 500 B.C. So that we may safely say that there is only one Golasecca period, and this one period is precisely contemporary with the Arnoaldi of Bologna.

Early Period of the Comacines. Varese and Como

But if there is no evidence of any date earlier than the eighth century for the sites on the Ticino grouped under the name of Golasecca, yet discoveries made round Varese and Como prove that there were settlements in those regions at least at the very dawn of the Iron Age. Two quadrilateral razors, one of which is shown in Fig. 22, were found at Malgesso at the north-west end of the Lake of Varese, and are now in the Como Museum. They belong to a type which has been mentioned several times in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* as absolutely diagnostic of the pre-Benacci and First Benacci periods, never occurring even as late as the beginning of Second Benacci.[1] This might have been dismissed as a sporadic find, but the fibulae from Albate, Moncucco, San Fermo, and Villa Nessi, four distinct sites near the south end of Lake Como, furnish strong corroboration. Of the first five fibulae shown in Plate 16, no. 1 can be precisely matched from Pianello; no. 2 from Timmari; and nos. 3, 5 from Bismantova.[2] This is proof, then, that Comacines were settled round Lakes Varese and Como as early as any of the Villanovan stocks were settled in Italy, a fact of great importance for history.[3]

FIG. 22. Quadrangular bronze razor. From a photograph. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

[1] pp. 14, 15, 44, 68, 85, 88, 89, and Plate 2, no. 18, Plate 19, no. 4, as well as fig. 11 in the text.

[2] See *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 19.

[3] I am of course quite alive to the danger of inferring that a large population existed where only a few specimens have been found. It is impossible to say *how many* Comacines settled in these regions until the entire area has been completely and scientifically explored.

The Early Period at Moncucco, Villa Nessi, San Fermo

Moncucco, Villa Nessi, and San Fermo are three closely adjoining sites, the first of which is little more than a kilometre due west of the northern end of the town of Como. Excavations were made at Moncucco in 1875, but not, unfortunately, for scientific purposes. Such discoveries as were made were merely incidental to improvements that the proprietors were carrying out on their land. Consequently at first a great deal was broken and destroyed, tomb-groups were scattered, numerous objects were stolen by the workmen, and it was a confused mass of broken and heterogeneous material which the landowners gathered together into their house before they gave any notice to the Archaeological Commission of Como. Then, however, a careful supervision was instituted, and the subsequent operations of the workmen were controlled by two careful observers.

The first antiquities that were brought to light before any special care was taken to observe them were, it was said, lying in great confusion as if the cemetery had been already plundered or disturbed. At this stage the burial urns were lying unprotected in the ground without any apparent form of grave. At the next stage, however, the digging was at a lower level and graves were found undisturbed. They were constructed of slabs, in the fashion shown here as Fig. 23, each grave containing its pottery cremation urn, sometimes but not always covered with a bowl, by the side of which there sometimes stood smaller vases. The graves were a metre or a metre and a half apart, and were found at depths varying from 60 centimetres to a metre and a half.

The objects from Moncucco were presented to the museum of Como, and drawings of the most important were published in the ninth and tenth numbers of the newly founded *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia di Como*.[1] From these are derived all the illustrations of Moncucco in Plates 16 and 17, except for the two ossuaries, which have been drawn from photographs made in the museum. The pottery, of which two typical specimens are shown in Plate 17, nos. 13 and 15, was so much broken that hardly any ossuaries are entire. The ware is very rough, hand-made, and incised with bands and chevrons. The chevrons are generally executed in *pointillé* with consecutive dots instead of entire lines ; the form of ossuary is a primitive olla which has no relationship to the regular ' Villanovan ' urn.

Several fibulae from Moncucco are illustrated in Plate 16. Of these the twisted bow, no. 3, is pre-Benacci, or First Benacci, while nos. 6 and 7 are

[1] Fasc. 9, 10 of 1876 and 1877. The articles and drawings are by Garovaglio, who, mistaking the date, speaks of Moncucco as a ' necropoli gallica '.

early Second Benacci types. Several other kinds, however, are shown in Garovaglio's drawing, viz. a large-ribbed and a small-ribbed type, as well as boat-fibulae with fairly long shanks which must be full Second Benacci; but there are no fibulae so late as the Arnoaldi period, so that the chronological range of the cemetery may be placed at about 1050 to 750 B.C.

Of the individual objects from Moncucco shown in Plate 17 the most interesting is the bronze sword, no. 11, which was found in an ossuary illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 42, no. 14. The sword had been broken into six pieces, which were planted perpendicularly in a ring among the ashes filling the urn. It resembles the sword found at Colico on the northern edge of Lake Como, figured by Montelius in his Plate 31, no. 6.[1] Another Comacine type, with a quite different hilt, is the famous specimen found at Bernate six kilometres south of Como in the year 1847.[2] This is shown as no. 12 in Plate 17; Montelius and others have pointed out that the form is well known in Hungary. An extremely handsome sword of the Bernate kind (Montelius, Plate 31, no. 4), now in the museum at Torino, was found west of the Ticino near Serravalle on the right bank of the Sesia.[3] It would be interesting to know whether these types are actually earlier or later than the antennae-swords, but I know of no satisfactory evidence by which the question could really be judged. A sword with antennae-handle was actually found at Moncucco,[4] though not mentioned by Garovaglio; another, illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 31, no. 9, is known from the province of Bergamo. It is quite possible that the several varieties were in use within the same period, but originated from different centres of manufacture.

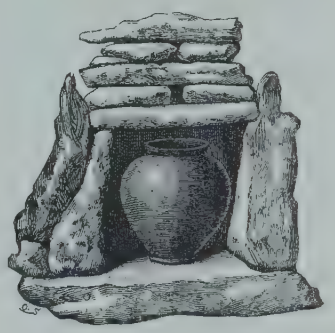


FIG. 23. Plan of a tomb at Moncucco. From Montelius, Plate 42, after *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 10. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

The bronze spear, no. 10 in Plate 17, is one of two very similar specimens, and was found sticking point upwards amongst the ashes in an ossuary; the other spear, which is less perfect, lay by itself on the ground as if dropped by accident.

The knife, no. 9 in Plate 17, has a bronze hilt and iron blade. It is the only iron implement of any kind found at Moncucco, and like the bronze sword was broken into several pieces.

[1] *Rio. Arch. Como*, fasc. 28, 1886.

[2] Its romantic history is given in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xi, pp. 178–86. Cf. also vol. xii, p. 66.

[3] For another from near Sondrio see *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xlvi, tav. 7.

[4] There is a brief note merely stating the fact in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ii, p. 32.

Of less importance than these weapons and implements are the head-pins and bracelets, nos. 4–8, which are of very simple and early types. The little object shown as no. 1 is a finger ring made of sheet bronze and ornamented with little studs. Nos. 2 and 3 show two views of a bronze boss or button, possibly the centre of a shield.

Next to Moncucco the most important site of what I call the Early Comacine period is Villa Nessi, which is only half a kilometre away, and may perhaps be regarded as a continuation of the same cemetery at a slightly later stage. For the chronological range of Villa Nessi, though not longer than that of Moncucco, is a little later. This is shown by the fact that it contains not only very early fibulae such as the twisted bow and the thickened semicircular bow, but also the navicella with developed side-studs and even the long-shanked form of leech or sanguisuga. Villa Nessi therefore seems to begin about the end of the First Benacci and to continue to the end of the Second Benacci. An ossuary of hand-made black pottery from the site is shown in Plate 17, no. 14, and fibulae from it in Plate 16, nos. 5, 8, 11. Ribbed fibulae, of which no. 8 is an example, are very conspicuous in the case which contains the Villa Nessi material in the museum of Como. The evolution of the type can be traced from the specimens found here and at San Fermo ; it seems to begin with the sanguisuga and to be derived from this by a gradual process of deepening the vertical engraved lines.

In Montelius, Plate 47, is shown a sketch of the usual form of tomb, which is very similar to that seen at Moncucco. The head-pins and bracelets are also of the same kind as at Moncucco (cf. Plate 17, nos. 4–8) ; and, in spite of the advanced form of one or two fibulae which I have already pointed out, there are no objects which can be dated later than Second Benacci.

At S. Fermo, which is about the same distance to the south of Moncucco as Villa Nessi is to the north, sixteen very poor tombs were found which obviously belong to the same early period. There were semicircular bow-fibulae, of which one is shown in Plate 16, no. 4, a bronze wire bracelet, and some sherds of rough pottery incised with geometrical patterns.[1]

Just south of S. Fermo, at S. Maria di Vergosa, were a few tombs of the same date and character,[2] with one unusually fine jar ornamented with punctured geometrical patterns.

The two fibulae shown in nos. 1 and 2 of Plate 16 were found in a single tomb on the site of Roncaia in the Comune di Albate, two or three kilometres south of Como. The tomb was plundered by the labourers who had discovered

[1] *Riv. arch. Como*, fasc. 48, 49 of 1904, and cases in the museum.

[2] Ibid., fasc. 12 of 1877, and cases in the museum.

it by accident; the cinerary urn was smashed and nothing was preserved except the fibulae. These were published by Baserga,[1] but remain in private possession; it is to be hoped that they may some day pass into their proper place in the museum. They are the most ancient types of the Iron Age yet found in the whole Comacine region, and go back to the pre-Benacci period of Timmari and Pianello.

It is evident, then, that the pre-Benacci and the first two Benacci periods are represented by settlements at several points round the Lake of Como. These constitute what I should call for convenience the 'Early Comacine period'.

[1] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 16, 17

PLATE 16. COMO. *All periods.*

Bronze fibulae, representing all the most important Comacine types in serial order.

No. 1. From Albate. *Rivista Archeologica della provincia di Como*, fasc. 79.

No. 2. From Albate. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 79.

No. 3. From Moncucco. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 9.

No. 4. From S. Fermo. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 48.

No. 5. From Villa Nessi. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 6.

No. 6. From Moncucco. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 9.

No. 7. From Moncucco. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 9.

No. 8. From Villa Nessi. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 6.

No. 9. From Moncucco. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 9.

No. 10. From Ca Morta. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 73.

No. 11. From Villa Nessi. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 6.

No. 12. From Valtravaglia. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 13. From Valtravaglia. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 14. From Valtravaglia. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 15. From Valtravaglia. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 16. From Civiglio. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 14.

No. 17. From Civiglio. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 14.

No. 18. From Pianezzo. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ throughout.

Drawings by G. D. Heard.

PLATE 17. COMO. *Early period.*

No. 1, bronze finger-ring, full size; no. 2, bronze boss of a shield, full size; no. 3, reverse side of the bronze boss; nos. 4 and 5, bronze head-pins, full size, but only half the length is shown; no. 6, bracelet of bronze ribbon, scale $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 7, bronze bracelet with bronze rattle as pendant, scale $\frac{2}{5}$; no. 8, bronze bracelet, scale $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 9, iron knife, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 10, bronze spear, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 11, bronze sword, scale $\frac{5}{12}$.

Nos. 1–11 are from Moncucco; the illustrations are taken from *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 9.

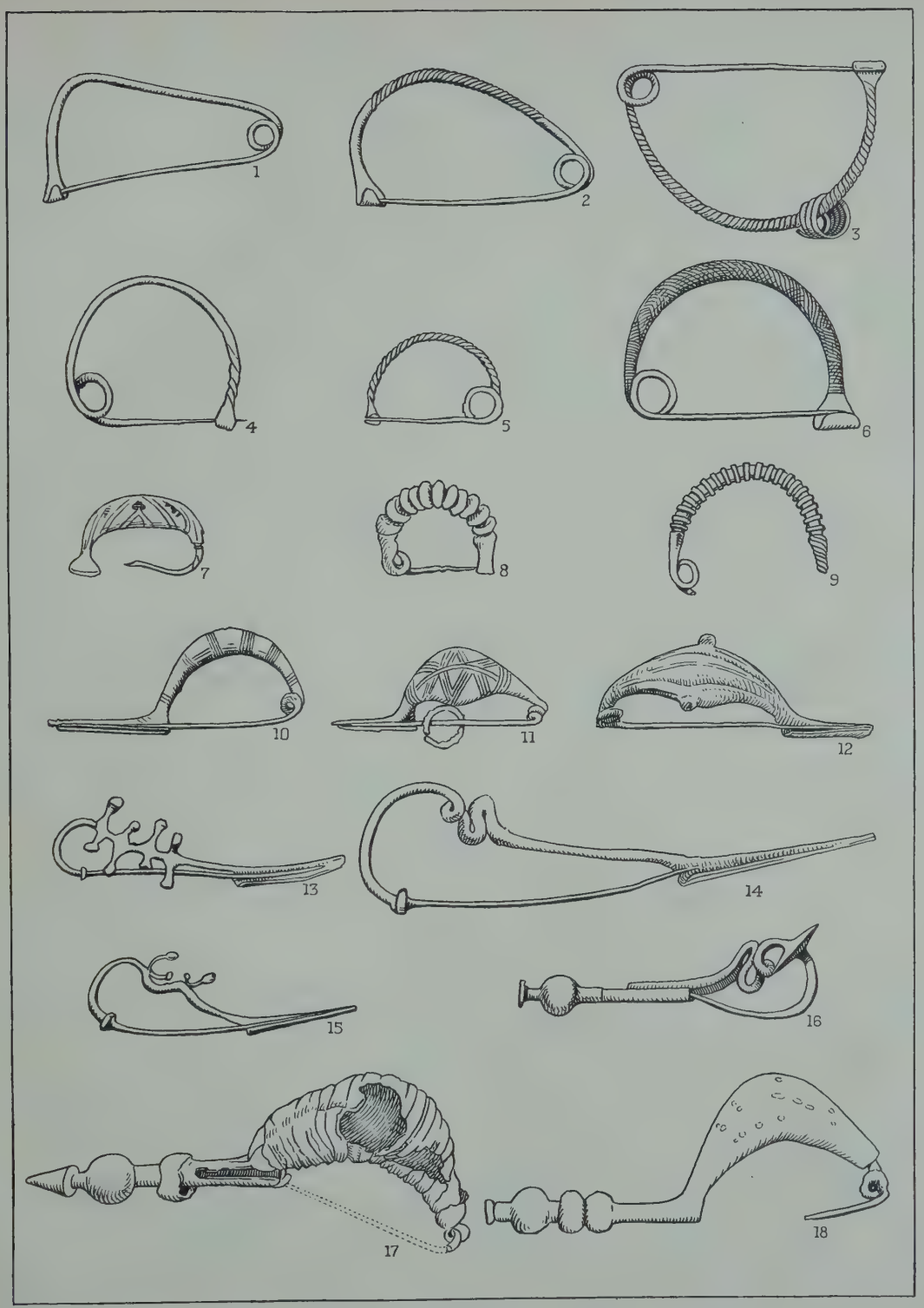
No. 12, bronze sword from Bernate. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Illustration from *Bull. Pal. It.*, fasc. 11.

No. 13, pottery ossuary from Moncucco. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$. From photograph of original in Museum at Como.

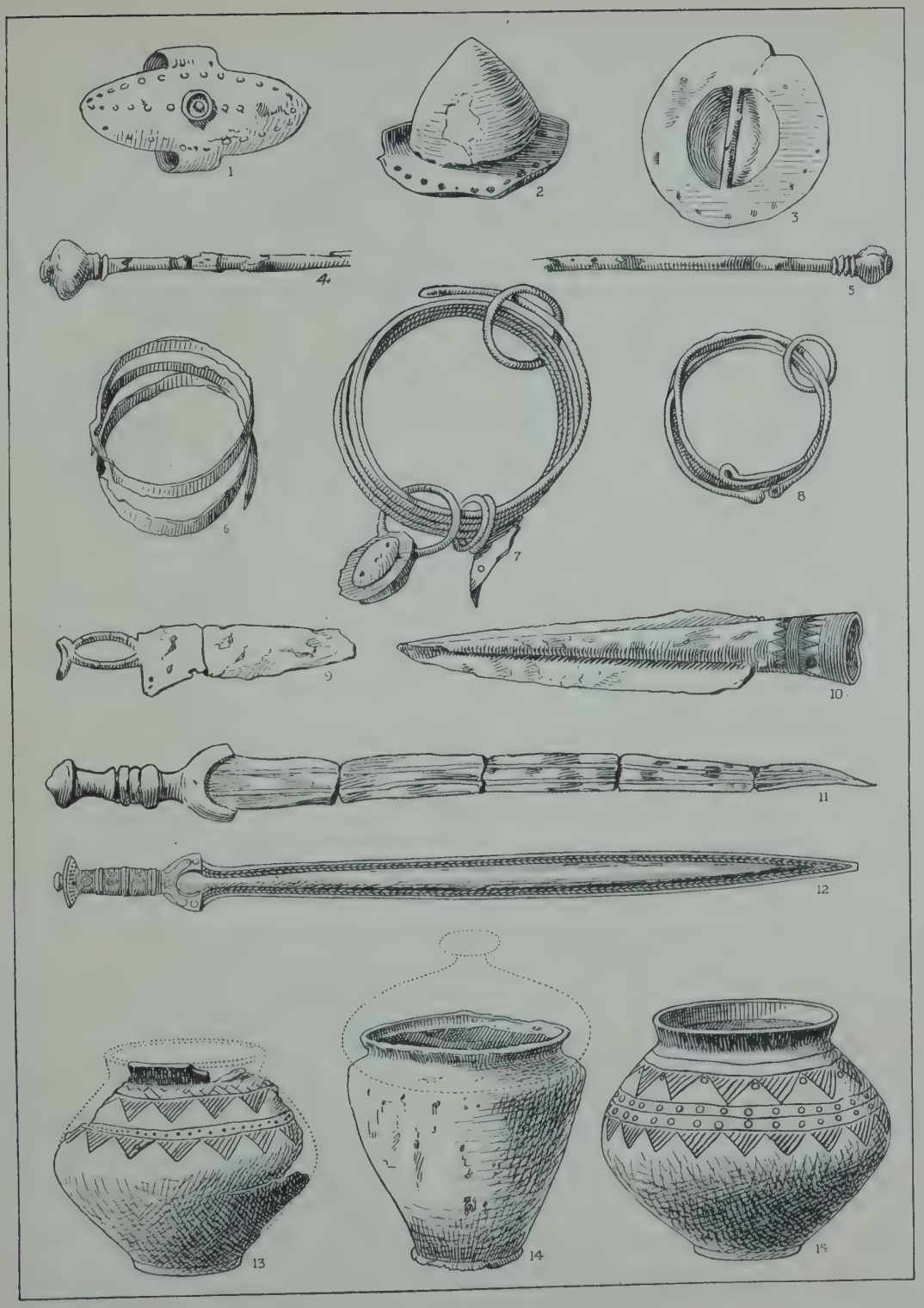
No. 14, pottery ossuary from Villa Nessi. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 6.

No. 15, pottery ossuary from Moncucco. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$. From photograph of original in museum at Como.

Drawings by G. D. Heard.



COMACINES. The Fibulae of the Como Region



COMO. The Early Comacine Period

The Middle Comacine Period. Valtravaglia, Rebbio, Albate

The 'Middle Comacine period', which is practically equivalent to the Arnoaldi of Bologna, i. e. about 750 to 500 B. C., is represented by several sites round Como itself and by others at some distance. The most important of these for the bulk of material which it has produced is Valtravaglia, half-way up the east side of Lago Maggiore, but belonging by its affinities to Varese rather than to the Golasecca group of cemeteries. Excavations made there in 1880–2 [1] brought to light forty graves, the objects from which are all in the museum of Como. Almost all these graves were simple holes in the ground containing merely an ossuary unprotected by any structure; only one tomb was regularly built up with slabs. The pottery was quite abundant, the average of vases in each grave being nine, while one grave contained as many as twenty-six. This alone would be sufficient to show that we had passed beyond the really archaic time, when pottery was never abundant. And it is necessary to emphasize this because some of the pottery of Valtravaglia has a very primitive appearance. It is all hand-made and frequently incised with triangles and lines, the general effect of which is much better rendered by the bold rough drawings of Garovaglio's plate than by the hard formalized copies from them which Montelius gives in his Plate 46. The two painted pots given by Montelius as nos. 10 and 11 are quite exceptional; this may be explained by the fact that they come from a separate and distinct part of the site.[2]

The ossuaries are of the more or less spherical olla form, with a good deal of resemblance to the more primitive of the Golasecca pots and also to those of Moncucco. In the other jars, bowls, and cups there is considerable variety of form; I show four representative examples in nos. 5–8 of Plate 20. There is a complete absence of *stralucido* ware or of any of the pottery known at Este or elsewhere about 500 B. C.

The chronological range therefore seems to be fairly closely defined, and to be almost identical with that of the Golasecca sites. Some of the bracelets of ribbon bronze, as for instance no. 9 in Plate 18, are so early in form that one is unwilling to put them later than eighth century; but there are no fibulae which need be earlier than the Arnoaldi, and the greater number, with their serpentine or highly developed boat-forms and long catch-points, are plainly seventh and sixth century. Four typical examples of fibulae are shown in Plate 16, nos. 12–15, and a bronze head-pin, bronze bracelet, and

[1] *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 17 of 1880, fasc. 21 of 1882. Cf. Montelius, Plate 46.

[2] Viz. Orili, where the first eight graves were found; the remaining thirty-four were at 'i Bricchitt'.

bronze fibula are given in Plate 18, nos. 8–10; on the pin of the fibula is a miniature model of a shield in repoussé. The toilet set in Plate 18, no. 13, is of iron, with a little bronze fibula strung upon it; iron is quite frequent in the graves of Valtravaglia. It is remarkable that there are no weapons of any description either of bronze or of iron.

Of the numerous cemeteries belonging to all dates and stages of the Iron Age, which surround the southern end of Lake Como in a semicircle, several belong at least in part to what I am calling the Middle Comacine period of about 750 to 500. It has seldom been possible to explore any of these systematically; but isolated objects or the products of one or two tombs have been brought into the museum at Como and duly described in the admirable *Rivista Archeologica*. Not at Como, however, but in the museum of Milan is the large ribbed fibula shown in no. 11 of Plate 18, with its long chains ending in spiral volutes.[1] This comes from Rebbio, two or three kilometres south of the lake, where in 1858 several tombs were accidentally discovered by peasants. It is a very typical piece of Comacine work, as may be seen by comparing it with the chain ornament shown in no. 12 from Ca Morta.[2] Fibulae 'a grandi coste', as I have already pointed out, are not necessarily early in date, and have quite a long range. They are found in the Fonderia di San Francesco at Bologna, which is certainly pre-Arnoaldi; they are also found on Swiss sites of the fifth century. In themselves, therefore, they are useless as a criterion for dating, and according to all the available evidence they may range in the Comacine regions anywhere between 800 and 400 B. C. Castelfranco is justified, however, in regarding them as definitely North-Italian products almost peculiar to the Golaseccans and Comacines.

At Milan are the plain bronze situla and all the other contents of a very interesting tomb found at Albate in 1910.[3] The remarkable triple-stemmed candelabrum from this group is shown in no. 13 of Plate 20. Besides this the grave contained a high fruit-stand (no. 3 in Plate 20), a small jar painted black and decorated with simple impressed designs, and a small situla-shaped jar with a handle like no. 10 in Plate 20. The bronze situla, which was used as an ossuary, contained, besides the ashes, a small plaque of silver, fragments of coral, beads of glass paste, bronze chain-pendants of several patterns, overlapping armlets of bronze ribbon, a ribbed fibula, a wire fibula originally threaded with amber or coral, and finger-rings of bronze ribbon. This group is described by Baserga in the *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia di Como* for 1910.

[1] Described in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. iv, p. 50.

[2] *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 79 of 1919–21, p. 49.

[3] Ibid., fasc. 59 of 1910, with two photographic plates. The grave referred to is no. 10 of Albate. The account given by Baserga should be read for its description of several other graves, as well as for its general observations.

Two of the other graves described in the same article on Albate, viz. no. 9 and no. 13, contained cylindrical ribbed cists of bronze, and in another, no. 14, were the three pots illustrated as nos. 4, 9, 10 of Plate 20. Of these no. 4 is very curious, being painted in the same fashion as the triple bird-vase, no. 13, with white lines on a black ground.

To the middle period but probably very near the end of it, that is to say the close of the sixth century, may be assigned a group of tombs found in the extensive cemetery of Ca Morta, which adjoins Albate on one side and contains burials of almost every date. The six graves found in 1922 are described by Baserga in the *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia di Como*,[1] and some of the most important objects have been placed in the museum. The first to be remarked is a fine ribbed fibula with little pendent chains of bronze, terminating in spirals. It is virtually a duplicate of the well-known example from Rebbio, shown in no. 11 of Plate 18, and helps to fix its date more closely. The workmen who found the ribbed fibula had ruined and plundered the grave; from which, however, were saved three fibulae, one of unusual size, of the open-boat type.

Another grave in this group contained an overlapping bracelet of ribbon bronze, two small bronze discs ornamented with repoussé bosses,[2] two boat-fibulae, two ribbed fibulae, and the bronze palette shown in no. 11 of Plate 19.

A third grave contained the palette shown as no. 12 of Plate 19, together with a very small bronze arrow-head, a ribbed fibula to which patches of cloth still adhered, and a ribbed fibula with small chains of bronze hanging from it which terminated in twin bullae similar to those shown in no. 12 of Plate 47 in Montelius.

A fourth grave has an interesting pottery jar of situla shape, painted black and ornamented in unusual fashion with finger-pittings, which are perhaps intended to simulate the effect of metal bosses. With this were a bronze situla, two ribbed fibulae, a boat-fibula, two necklaces of bronze chain-work with pendants, a little repoussé disc, fragments of a bracelet of ribbon bronze, beads of glass paste, and beads of amber.

Etruscan Influence begins about 500 *B.C.*

By far the most important objects in this group of graves are the bronze palettes, which belong to a class found in other parts of northern Italy studied by Ghirardini[3] and by Milani.[4] These Comacine palettes are closely similar

[1] Fasc. 82–4, of 1922, p. 121.

[2] Cf. the example from Breccia in Montelius, Plate 47, no. 11. Cf. also Montelius, Plate 46, no. 2, for another found at Valtravaglia.

[3] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 120–34. Cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1901, pp. 314–21.

[4] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxix, pp. 28–37.

to examples found at Este in the third Atestine period, and to specimens of unknown provenance in the museums of Bologna and Rome. The purpose for which they were employed is clearly demonstrated by bucchero palettes of the same shape, found in immediate association with foculi or braziers of bucchero, on Etruscan sites of the seventh century. They were used for tending the sacrificial fire, shifting the ashes and perhaps putting on incense. The Venetian and Comacine specimens are not as early as the seventh century, and must be dated more nearly to 500 B.C. They are interesting as clear evidence of Etruscan influence, which until this generation was quite unknown in the region of the Lakes.

The culture of the Early Comacine period shows hardly any trace of intercourse with Venetia, Bologna, or Etruria. And in the first part of the Middle Period few objects are found which were not produced in the local workshops. Even the fibulae were manufactured in the district, as is proved by the discovery of the mould for a ribbed fibula at Valtravaglia near Varese.[1] But about 500 B.C. the same phenomenon repeats itself in Lombardy which I have already remarked in Venetia. The founding of Etruscan colonies on the east and north of the Apennines, as well as on the coast of the Adriatic, gave an immense impulse to Etruscan trade, which expanded so rapidly as to carry its products all over northern Italy. From Lombardy they passed still farther, travelling by the Alpine passes to the farthest ends of western Europe. So that the districts near Como, Lugano, and Maggiore, lying on the main caravan roads which connected Italy with the north, were no doubt full of Etruscan products.

Whether the engraved situla lid from Grandate, shown as no. 15 in Plate 18, is actually Etruscan, or whether it is Atestine, remains a difficult question. It so closely resembles several examples from Este that perhaps we ought to assign it to the workshops of Venetia rather than to those of Bologna or Etruria. It is engraved with a series of animals, viz. an antelope, a ram, and a stag, wandering among trees and bushes. The style is that of the best period of animal representation, so that the piece can hardly be later than 500 B.C.[2] This lid belongs to a plain bronze situla found at Grandate in one of a group of four graves.[3] The situla was used as an ossuary, and contained the cremated remains of human bones together with those of a pig or wild boar, with which were associated a bronze serpentine fibula and an iron fibula. Another grave contained a plain bronze situla and a boat-fibula.

[1] *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 17 of 1880, tav. v, or Montelius, Plate 47, no. 1.

[2] Studied by Ghirardini in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, cols. 122–4, where there is a fine illustration.

[3] *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 27 of 1885, pp. 11–15.

Also to be noted as coming from sites near Como are a bronze cist and two pretty handled bronze bowls found at Ca Morta,[1] a bronze bowl from Respau, a bronze jar from Casate Nuovo, and the bronze necklaces (nos. 12 and 14 of Plate 18) from Ca Morta and Mariano Comense.[2]

Farther away, at Pregassona near Lugano, was found a ribbed cist,[3] and at Porza near Tesserete the fragments of a bronze vessel and a horned serpentine fibula came from a grave discovered by road makers.[4]

On the east of Lake Como graves of the Middle Period have been found at Longone, in the district of Lecco. Two ossuaries from this site are shown as nos. 1 and 2 of Plate 20. The objects contained in no. 1 were two ribbed fibulae, a sanguisuga with catch-point of medium length, a necklace of bronze chain, and a wheel-shaped bronze pendant.

The Late Comacine Period

If the Middle Comacine period may be defined as from the eighth century to 500 B.C., precisely equivalent to the Arnoaldi of Bologna, it will be convenient to make a Late Comacine period contemporary with the Third Period of Este. It will begin just after 500 B.C., and continue down to the Gaulish invasion. The most characteristic objects of these two centuries, the fifth and the fourth, are shown in Plate 19.

The forms of fibulae have changed. The Certosa type appears for the first time and lasts through the whole period. The serpentine with a peculiar ball end to its long shank (no. 16 in Plate 16) occurred as early as the Arnoaldi period at Bologna, but becomes very common in the fifth century all round the western Lakes and in Canton Ticino. Even more characteristic, because never found at Bologna, are the late forms of the leech or sanguisuga fibula (nos. 17 and 18 of Plate 16), terminating in a ball and spike, or a ball and flat disc; they have generally one or more running rings to keep the pin in place, and the body is often studded with little knobs of coral. This more frequent use of coral and the prodigal employment of amber, which is often made into long necklaces (no. 10 in Plate 19), show a great increase of external commerce. The pottery is much more advanced in form and technique, but has little decorative or artistic value.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Como the Late Period is represented only by a few scattered tombs from each of several sites. The greatest bulk of material came from Civiglio, where a group of nine graves was found which

[1] Ibid., fasc. 59 of 1910.
[2] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919.
[3] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919.
[4] Ibid., fasc. 59 of 1910.

must belong to the full fourth century.[1] The small ornaments are very characteristic of the time. No. 8 in Plate 19 is one of the bronze bracelets studded with little knobs all round the outer edge, which are so common on all the Comacine sites of the Late Period as well as in Canton Ticino; similar examples may be seen in nos. 1 and 3 from places as far apart as Palestro and Pianezzo. Nos. 7 and 9 in the same plate are bronze circles hung with numerous bronze rings of various sizes and with pendants in the shape of buckets. The fibulae are a Certosa fibula, the late form of serpentine (no. 16 of Plate 16), and the late form of sanguisuga (no. 17 of Plate 16), together with a peculiar type with a projecting arm which appears here for the first time. The pottery is very well made, and either of the natural red of the clay or else varnished with black. On the bottom of one vase are scratched five letters in the Etruscan alphabet.

The fibula with the projecting arm occurred again in a tomb at Cantù, concerning which there is very little information, but it seems to have contained also a boat-fibula and a leech-fibula, as well as a ring studded with knobs like the bracelets mentioned at Civiglio.[2] Baserga remarks that this fibula seems to be peculiar to the district round Como; two other examples are known from the neighbourhood of Como, though the identity of the site has been lost.

A tomb from the extensive cemetery known as Ca Morta[3] contained a very unusual piece of pottery which is shown as no. 16 in Plate 20. It is a fanciful jar studded with spikes of clay round the shoulder and coloured with alternate bands of red and black in imitation of the Atestine style. From this grave came two pots precisely resembling nos. 9 and 10 of Plate 20, fragments of bronze boat-fibulae, and of an iron serpentine fibula and a short iron dagger-blade.

From other graves at Ca Morta came the bronze oenochoe and the bronze basin shown as no. 13 in Plate 19,[4] and the pottery ossuary, no. 12 in Plate 20.[5] At Ossuccio, Lora, Zelbio, and Carate Lario[6] were slight remains of cemeteries belonging to the same period and culture as Civiglio. The few objects obtained from them are in the Como Museum. Tombs at Brunate[7] produced a leech-fibula of the characteristic late type, with some bronze bracelets, rings, and pendants, and iron spears. From Cardano, which is perhaps a late continuation of the Moncucco cemetery, came more unusual objects, viz. small-ribbed fibulae as well as late leech forms, and bottles of blue and yellow glass as well as gold,

[1] *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 7 and 8 of 1875, and fasc. 14 of 1878.
[2] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919, p. 47.
[3] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919, p. 55. For a general review of Ca Morta see fasc. 88–9 of 1925.
[4] Ibid., fasc. 73–5 of 1917, p. 51.
[5] Ibid., fasc. 79 of 1919, p. 55.
[6] Ibid., fasc. 76, 79, 12.
[7] Ibid., fasc. 67 of 1913, and cases in the museum.

silver, and bronze rings ; unfortunately, nothing is known as to the excavations.[1] The use of gold and silver suggests a very late date for a most remarkable specimen from Rebbio shown in no. 2 of Plate 19. It is described as a ' toilet vade-mecum ', being a complete set of little instruments for cleaning the nails and ears, of a general class well known in Iron Age cemeteries of all periods, cf. no. 1 in the same plate. The peculiarity of the Rebbio example is its expensive and luxurious style: the light parts in my drawing are massive silver, the darker parts are gold. It was found in 1842 ; the objects associated with it suggest Etruscan origin, but were not described minutely enough for purposes of study.[2]

Definitely Etruscan are some objects found at Rondineto, where a tomb contained a bronze knife, bronze horse-bits, a bronze cist of Arnoaldi style, and a curious bronze implement with a forked end decorated with dangles at the handle ; these are illustrated in his Plate 47 by Montelius.[3]

The Late Comacine period is represented by several sites in different parts of Lombardy, the most important being Lodi on the river Adda, south-east of Milan.[4] The antiquities from these sites are for the most part the result of sporadic finds, and are unaccompanied by such information as is necessary for accurate study. And in spite of all the care and interest of the local archaeological society, and the patient work of distinguished scholars like Garovaglio at the beginning and Baserga in our own day, the collection at Como is much less complete than a student would wish to see it. This is because only a very few of the excavations were made under scientific supervision. In most instances, all that has come to the museum represents only so much as an intelligent landowner or an educated neighbour has succeeded in saving from the stupidity and greed of the workmen employed in making roads, working the fields, or planting vineyards. These in their search for supposed treasure generally break up everything that can be broken and secrete anything that is portable, with the result that few complete groups arrive at the museum.

[1] Ibid., fasc. 31 of 1888.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxvi, p. 26. The other objects were a bronze fibula, a horse-bit, and a ' vaso di lamina di bronzo decorato ', which scarcely amounts to a description.

[3] From *Not. Scavi*, 1878, p. 202.

[4] Studied by Castelfranco in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ix, pp. 182–202.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 18, 19

PLATE 18. COMO. *Middle Period.*

No. 1, portion of a bronze fibula. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

No. 2, portion of a bronze fibula. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

No. 3, front view of the lid of the situla. Scale a little less than $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 4, necklace of bronze chain with pendants of bronze. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

No. 5, bronze situla ornamented with figures of animals in *pointillé*. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 6, bronze situletta, ornamented with rows of dots. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 7, two views of an iron axe. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

Nos. 1 to 7 are from the Trezzo tomb, and are reproduced from Montelius, Plate 46.

No. 8, bronze head-pin from Valtravaglia. Scale $\frac{5}{12}$. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 9, bronze bracelet from Valtravaglia. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 10, bronze fibula with bronze disc and ring threaded on it, from Valtravaglia. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 11, ribbed fibula of bronze with bronze pendants, from Rebbio. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Reproduced from Montelius, Plate 47.

No. 12, necklace of bronze chain-work from Ca Morta. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 79. No dimensions published.

No. 13, iron toilet set from Valtravaglia. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 21.

No. 14, necklace of bronze chain-work from Mariano Comense. *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 79.

No. 15, bronze situla lid, engraved with figures of animals, from Grandate. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Reproduced from Montelius, Plate 46.

No. 16, bronze disc, ornamented with bosses in repoussé, from Valtravaglia. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. Reproduced from Montelius, Plate 46.

PLATE 19. COMO. *Late Period.*

No. 1, bronze fibula of the late sanguisuga type studded with coral. On it are hung toilet articles and other pendants, from Palestro. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. From *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxvi, p. 25.

No. 2, toilet-set of silver and gold, from Rebbio. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. From *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxvi, p. 26.

No. 3, bronze fibula with three knobbed bracelets of bronze. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$, from Pianezzo. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5, tav. viii.

No. 4, Certosa fibula of bronze, from Pianezzo. Approximate scale $\frac{1}{3}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5, tav. v.

No. 5, part of bronze bracelet with bucket-pendants of bronze, from Pianezzo. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5, p. 33.

No. 6, part of bronze bracelet with rings of bronze, from Pianezzo. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5, p. 33.

No. 7, bronze bracelet with rings and bucket pendants of bronze, from Civiglio. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 19, 20

PLATE 19. COMO. *Late Period—cont.*

No. 8, half of a knobbed bronze bracelet, from Civiglio. Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 14.

No. 9, bronze bracelet with bronze rings, from Civiglio. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 14.

No. 10, string of amber beads, from Pianezzo. Scale approximately $\frac{1}{4}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5, p. 34.

Nos. 11 and 12, bronze fire-shovels, from Ca Morta. Scale of no. 11 is $\frac{1}{3}$, of no. 12 is $\frac{1}{4}$. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 82–4, p. 123.

No. 13, bronze jug and bronze basin, from Ca Morta. Dimensions not published. From *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 73–5, p. 51.

Drawings by G. D. Heard.

PLATE 20. COMO. *All Periods*

No. 1, ossuary from Longone, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1908, p. 5.

No. 2, ossuary from Longone, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1908, p. 8.

No. 3, from tomb 10 of Albate, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1910, tav. i.

No. 4, from tomb 14 of Albate, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1910, p. 18.

No. 5, from tomb 17 of Valtravaglia.

No. 6, from tomb 22 of Valtravaglia.

No. 7, from tomb 41 of Valtravaglia.

No. 8, from tomb 27 of Valtravaglia; all these from Valtravaglia are taken from *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1882, tav. i.

Nos. 9 and 10, from tomb 14 of Albate, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1910, p. 18.

No. 11, from Vergosa, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1921.

No. 12, from Ca Morta, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1921.

No. 13, from tomb 10 of Albate, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1910, tav. ii.

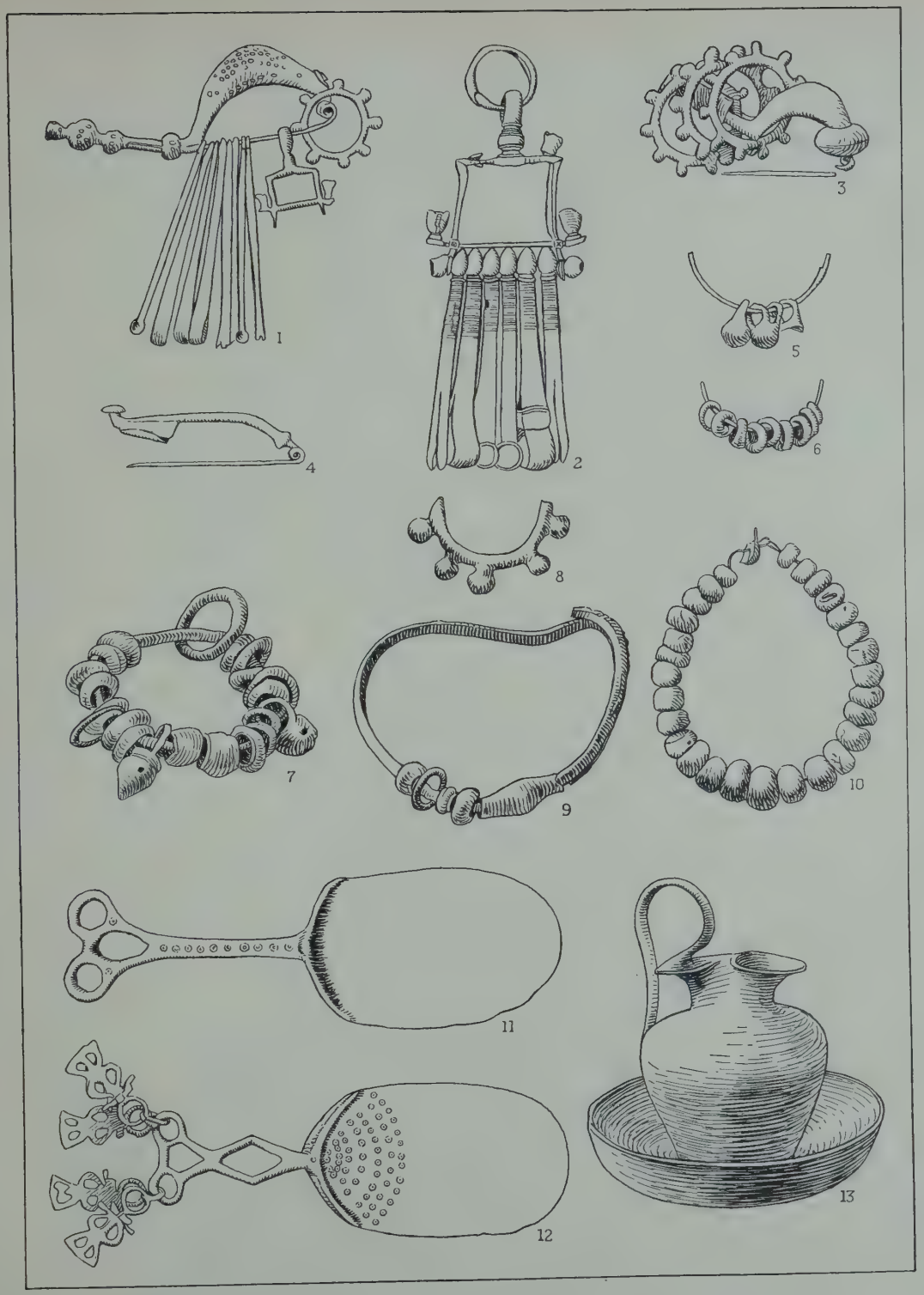
Nos. 14 and 15, from Albate, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1907, p. 100.

No. 16, from Ca Morta, *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. of 1921, p. 16.

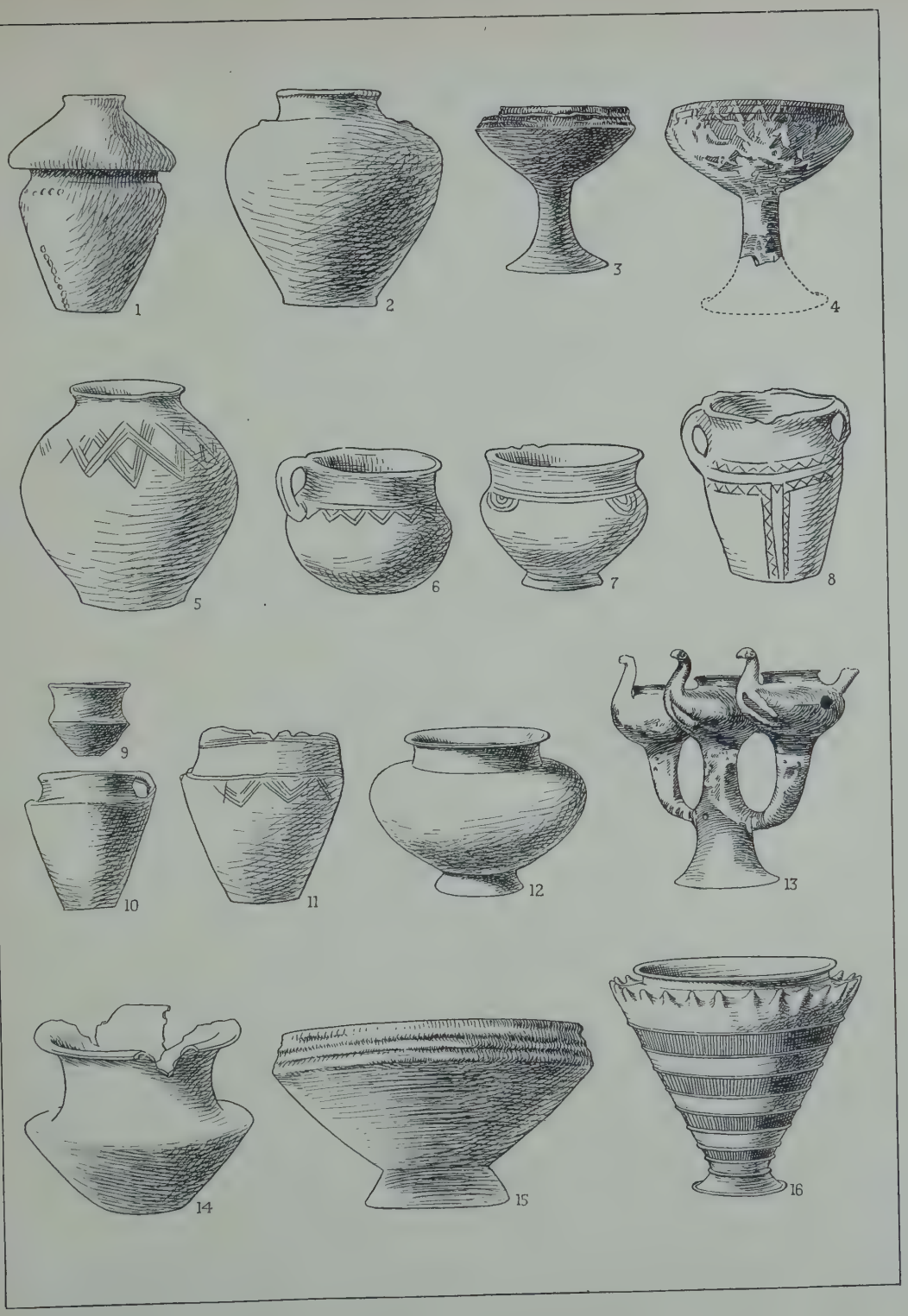
Scale for nos. 1–10 and 13 is approximately $\frac{1}{7}$, for nos. 11 and 12 is not stated, for no. 14 is $\frac{1}{3}$, for no. 15 is $\frac{1}{4}$, for no. 16 is $\frac{1}{10}$.

Drawings by G. D. Heard.

COMO. The Middle Comacine Period



COMO and BELLINZONA. The Late Comacine Period



COMO. Pottery of All Three Periods

The Bellinzona Cemeteries. Their Position and Meaning

The same process of destruction had begun in the neighbourhood of Bellinzona, at the north end of Lago Maggiore, when fortunately the museum of Zürich intervened, and after purchasing the plunder of the first excavations undertook some more careful and methodical explorations. This region lies within the Italian-speaking Swiss canton of Ticino, but archaeologically as well as geographically it is more nearly related to Italy than to Switzerland. Its material culture is very closely allied to that of the Comacines, though the burial rite being different we must infer that the population has a different origin. The practice of cremation ends immediately north of Lago Maggiore, and the cemeteries found in the valleys which lead up from the lake to the passes over the Alps are all of the inhumation rite, with only a trifling proportion of occasional cremations. The most valuable sites for our purpose are Cerinasca, Giubiasco, Molinazzo, and Castione, the objects from which are in the Landesmuseum at Zürich. These, together with the finds made at several adjoining places of less importance, have been published in a magnificently illustrated book which forms one of the official catalogues of the museum.[1]

As the tomb-groups have been carefully kept together, both in the collection and in the published volume, it is possible to study the Ticinese civilization very thoroughly.

The cemeteries are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Bellinzona, close to the junction of the two great valleys Leventina and Mesocco, of which the former is the main road to the St. Gotthard, while the other leads over the San Bernardino pass to the head-waters of one branch of the Rhine. The situation of the principal cemetery, Giubiasco, is shown on the map in my Plate 11, which illustrates its position in relation to the places discussed in my previous section. The map in Plate 21 shows Bellinzona and all the river valleys from the Dora to the Adige which have formed communications in ancient and modern days through different parts of the Alps.

Viollier has given a very lucid account of the routes connecting north-west Italy with transalpine Europe.[2] In historic times the principal routes were two. The first went by way of Aosta and over the Great St. Bernard to Martigny ; the other went up the valley of the Ticino and over the St. Gotthard down on to the valley of the Reuss. The former of these routes was known

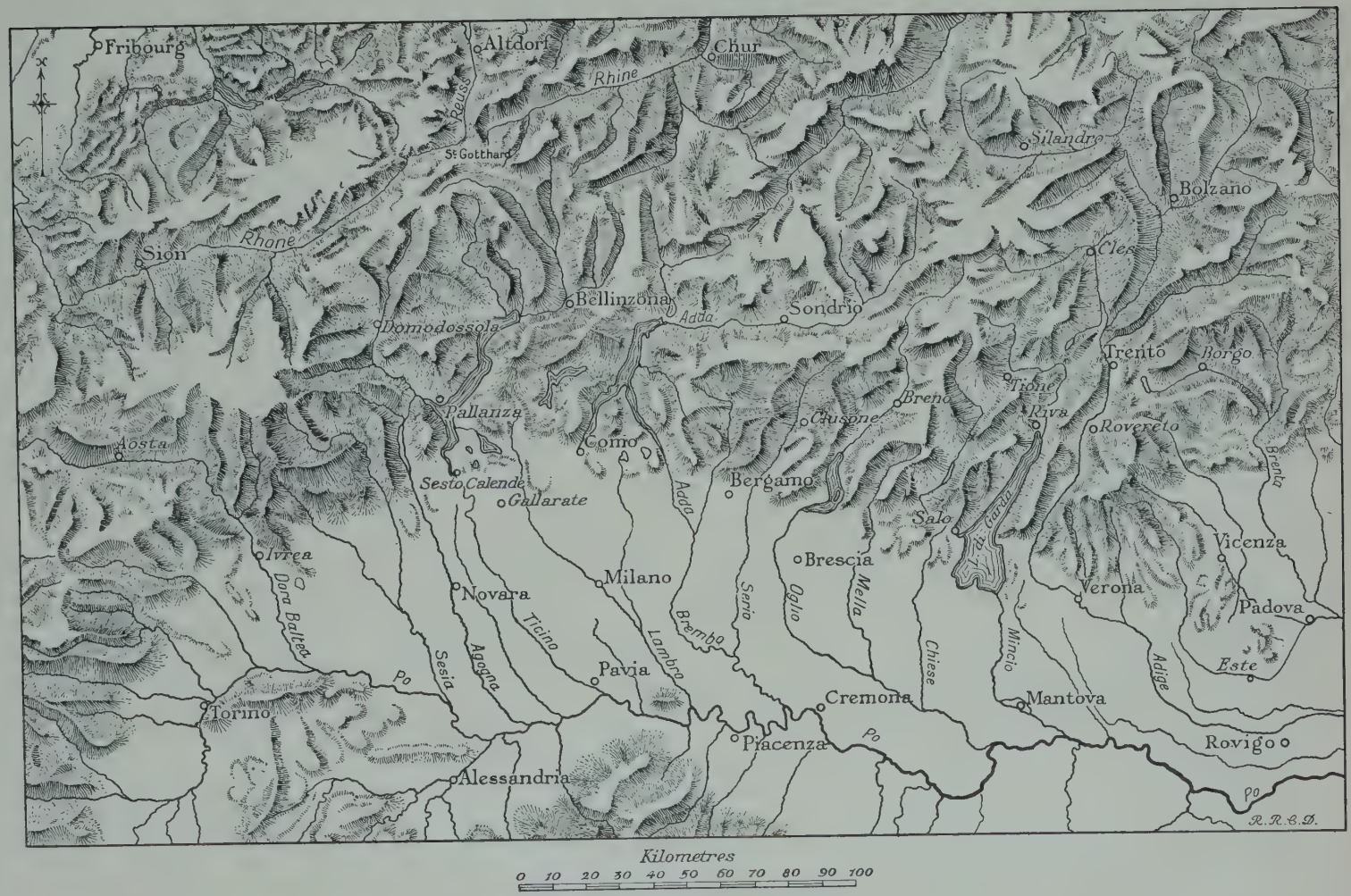
[1] *Die Gräberfelder in der Umgeburg von Bellinzona*, Kanton Tessin. von R. Ulrich, Zürich, 1914. An appendix deals with the excavations made for the Lugano museum at Pianezzo, originally described in the *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 53–5 of 1907, and with those at Gudo, described by Baserga in the *Riv. Arch. Como*, fasc. 62 of 1911.

[2] *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N.F., Band VIII, p. 97.

in the Bronze Age, and was considerably frequented in the Gaulish period. The second, however, was practically unused in prehistoric days. Instead of going over the St. Gotthard the commercial route in the Iron Age passed up the valley of the Ticino to Bellinzona, but from Bellinzona it went eastwards up the Val di Mesocco and over the San Bernardino to the Rheinwald-Thal. This is proved by the occurrence of numerous cemeteries all along the line. North of the Alps there are Iron Age cemeteries at Chur, Tomils, Thusis ; and south of the Alps they are found at Mesocco, Costaneda, Roveredo. Finally, where the Moësa flows into the Ticino, the presence of a large and stable population is shown by the chain of cemeteries which begins at the north with Alla-Monda-Claro and ends at the south with Giubiasco, Pianezzo, and Gudo. It is with this series that we have to deal ; they occupy a space of only a few kilometres, from which over twelve hundred graves have been examined.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 21

A map showing the relationship of Como and Bellinzona to the surrounding country, and the various river-valleys by which it was possible to penetrate the Alps.



Map showing relation of Sites and Routes in the Lake Region

Origin of the Colonies near Bellinzona

From this examination it appears that a peace-loving colony of hard-working people, who had little use for weapons, had settled precisely at this point in order to further the trade between North Italy and transalpine Europe. Bellinzona is a key-site, as the Visconti saw in the fifteenth century when they built those three linked castles which still stand commanding the outlets of both valleys. Probably these served the double purpose of barring a main route against invaders and of furnishing toll-posts for the collection of imposts on merchandise. But in the sixth century before Christ there seems to have been no occasion to fear invaders; traders passed freely and unmolested up and down between the Alps and the Ticino. Products of Italy, sometimes a Greek bronze vase or an Etruscan cauldron, more often a Bolognese or Venetian cist or situla, were carried down the Rhine to distant barbarians living in Switzerland, Western Germany, France, Belgium, and even England.[1]

The Ticinese of Bellinzona were the porters and carriers who organized the transport service, and were paid for their labours with a percentage of the goods that they forwarded. To what race or stock did these Ticinese belong? Since their burial practice was not cremation but inhumation they must have had a different origin from the Golaseccans and the Comacines. The usual theory, which is propounded both by Ulrich and by Italian archaeologists, makes them Ligurians. In support of this view is quoted the opinion of d'Arbois de Jubainville, who claimed that all place-names in *asco* or *asca* belonged to the Ligurian language. In Canton Ticino he found no less than twenty-six names with this termination, including Giubiasco and Cerinasca, which are the most interesting of our cemeteries. The suggestion is, therefore, that a considerable number of Ligurians migrated, at a date which I should agree with Baserga in placing about the end of the seventh century,[2] from the western plain of the Po to the country around Bellinzona.

It is impossible not to wonder whether the movement may not have been caused by pressure from the Golaseccans who had been established for some time on the lower waters of the Ticino, but who may have proved disagreeable

[1] For examples from the French and German sites, see the *Catalogue of the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye*, vol. ii, pp. 219–38 (Salle VI). For Belgium, see references given by F. Cumont in *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, p. 25. For England, see the British Museum, *Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, p. 91.

[2] Ulrich, op. cit., p. 714, makes it eighth century, clearly too high a dating for the fibulae. The reader of Ulrich's book must be careful not to be misled by such formal divisions as 'Erste Eisenzeit, ältere Periode', or 'Erste Eisenzeit, jüngere Periode'. In the opinion of the best Swiss archaeologists the Bronze Age in Switzerland lasts through the whole of that which is the Early Iron Age in Italy. Any Hallstatt culture that appears there is not earlier than the end of the seventh century.

neighbours. And this is a good occasion to inquire by what route the Comacines and Golaseccans themselves may have arrived. The absence of archaeological evidence of any kind in the Bergamasque Alps and between Bergamo and Verona is very baffling. So is our almost complete ignorance of the Trentino and the line of the Brenner in the early Iron Age; for the single cemetery of Vadena near Bolzano suggests various theories, but is insufficient to solve the principal questions. If, however, I am justified in the relative dating which I have established for the settlements of Golaseccans and Comacines, it would follow that the groups around Como itself were the earliest of the Iron Age immigrants to arrive in these parts, and that the direction of the movement was from east to west. In order to reach Como from their starting point, which must have been at least as far east as the Brenner, the Comacines and Golaseccans may have followed the line of the Val di Sale and the Valtellina. This, however, is mere hypothesis, which for the present can neither be proved nor disproved.

Cemeteries of Giubiasco and Cerinasca

For purposes of comparison with the archaeology of Lombardy the most valuable of the Ticinese cemeteries is Giubiasco, on account of its chronological range. It begins in the sixth century B.C. and continues down to the second century A.D., within which time six distinct stages can be distinguished by the relative predominance of the fibulae.

First there are serpentine and late forms of leech or sanguisuga unassociated with the Certosa fibula; these graves are sixth century. The next stage is defined by the appearance of the Certosa type, with which serpentine and sanguisuga are sometimes associated; this is the fifth century. The fourth century is characterized by the Early La Tène fibulae, with which Certosa and sanguisuga forms are associated but the serpentine is rare. In the first part of the Middle La Tène it is surprising to find that all the earlier forms, even the serpentine, are still in existence,[1] though of course infrequent; this is the Gaulish time, and the Gaulish types are naturally the commonest. The Late La Tène period, beginning 100 B.C., is the last phase of independent pre-Roman life in Gallia Cisalpina, the archaeology of which merges in my sixth stage with the general archaeology of the Roman Empire.

The neighbouring site of Cerinasca, which also begins in the sixth century but ends, except for two or three graves, in the fourth, is a valuable complement to Giubiasco, and may be closely compared with it. During the first centuries

[1] Grave 244 of Giubiasco, Ulrich, p. 609.

of its history, Giubiasco offers much material for comparison with the latest phases of the Comacine culture. The continuity of the cemetery is extremely useful in enabling us to distinguish between the Gaulish and the pre-Gaulish elements. It is clear, for instance, as we should expect from its accepted dating (500 to 300 B.C.), that the Early La Tène period is entirely pre-Gaulish in almost all its characteristics. The Middle La Tène, on the other hand (300 to 100 B.C.), is exclusively Gaulish. This is quite consistent with the view generally held by historians that the Celtic penetration of Gallia Cisalpina began about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Accordingly, I shall deal here only with the pre-Certosan graves, which are sixth century, and with the Certosan and Early La Tène, which are fifth and fourth.

Fibulae in the sixth century at Giubiasco are virtually identical with those found on the various Golaseccan sites. There are one or two examples of the boat-type with long shank and disc at the reverse end (like Ulrich's Taf. xv, no. 14) a fair number of serpentine forms like no. 16 in Plate 16, and a great quantity of the heavy 'Casaletto' fibulae, like no. 18 of Plate 16. Fairly frequent are the varieties of the 'slender Golasecca' type; there is one instance at Giubiasco and several at Cerinasca in which this form is studded with coral. Only one positively non-Italian type is found either at Giubiasco or Cerinasca, viz. the 'thorn fibula' shown in no. 5 of my Plate 22; this is an importation from Switzerland. Ulrich argues, however, that some of the serpentine forms are more Swiss than Italian, and the Certosa fibulae of Canton Ticino vary a little from the Bolognese. In the fifth century, as I have said, the dominant form is the Certosa, and in the fourth century it is the Early La Tène.

Weapons are very rare, which suggests that the Ligurians were a people of different habits and disposition from the Comacines or the warlike population of Golasecca. Personal ornaments, on the other hand, are numerous and show a fairly high standard of luxury; the types in the sixth century are identical with those of the fifth and early fourth. Metal-work is abundant and excellent, but of a curiously barbaric quality in comparison with the beautiful manufactures of Etruria and of Este. It is exemplified principally by the girdles of hammered bronze, for cists and situlae were probably imported instead of being made locally. This may be inferred from their comparative rarity. Only one was found at Giubiasco, whereas there were fourteen at Cerinasca, a curious contrast which arouses a suspicion that the transport agents of the latter place may have appropriated a consignment of situlae intended for distant customers on the other side of the Alps.

Bronze girdles are frequent on all the Bellinzona sites in the sixth and

fifth centuries, but hardly occur after that time. Their chronological range, therefore, coincides with the best period of such work at Este, but there is not the slightest trace of Atestine or Etruscan influence. The repoussé decoration is of a style which would have been primitive for Bologna in the eighth century. It is evident that these distant Alpine regions had been entirely unaffected by the new artistic inspiration which transformed the metal-work of Bologna, Etruria, and Este between 800 and 500 B.C. So far as technical execution is concerned the workmanship is quite good; but the schemes of decoration are generally limited to the simplest arrangements of spoked wheels, bosses, and lines of studs. A typical example is no. 8 of Plate 22 from Cerinasca, which can be matched by specimens from Alla Monda and Castione.

Following precisely the same line of evolution as the geometrical art of several centuries earlier in less backward communities the Ticinese began tentatively to delineate human figures in schematic form. Thus, on a girdle from Giubiasco, no. 6 of Ulrich's Plate 42, we may see a line of little men in repoussé, represented with rather less capacity than is shown in the simple figures of ducks in no. 6 of my Plate 22 from Cerinasca.

Another girdle from Cerinasca, shown in no. 7 of my Plate 22, is extremely interesting for the engravings which have been added between the repoussé bosses. They represent animals, and the style in which they are drawn is precisely the style of the Trezzo situla (Plate 18), although the process is different. The Bellinzona site, therefore, explains the barbaric art of Trezzo, and incidentally confirms the dating which I have given both for Trezzo and for Sesto Calende. In all these pieces we may recognize the untutored intelligence of a primitive people whose artistic level is scarcely so high as that which had been attained by the Northern Villanovans three centuries earlier. Living in a remote corner, they had never experienced the vivifying influence of new models and new movements.

In the sharpest contrast to this rude local work are the bronze oenochoae imported from Campania, of which several were found at Castione and Cerinasca.[1] The influence of Campanian imports is strongly felt also in much of the pottery from Castione and Cerinasca. On the other hand, there are several specimens of the 'double-burnished' ware of Golasecca, which is a native product of the Comacine region.

In regard to personal ornaments the repertoire of types is small, but several of the most characteristic forms are identical in the Ticinese and Comacine

[1] Ulrich, op. cit., Plates 9, 11, 26, 35. They are usually Schnabelkannen, with long-beaked spouts. A more beautiful form of Campanian bronze vase is the example from the Comacine site of Ca Morta figured in no. 13 of my Plate 19.

cemeteries. Rings or bracelets studded with knobs round the outer margin occur equally at Cerinasca or Pianezzo near Bellinzona, and at Brunate near Como; they are often hung, as in no. 3 of Plate 19, on a sanguisuga fibula. Small rings and pendants shaped like buckets are frequently strung on bracelets; no. 4 of Plate 22 from Castione is of just the same style as no. 7 of Plate 19 from the Comacine site of Civiglio. The dangles, no. 2 and no. 3 of the same plate, both from Castione, are again closely paralleled by examples from Civiglio.

Amber is a product which occurs sparsely in the Comacine graves through all the periods; that it is not commoner may, perhaps, be due to its very marketable character, which enables the finder to dispose of it too easily.[1] On the Bellinzona sites it is very plentiful, and some fine necklaces of amber beads, e. g. no. 10, Plate 19, have been found in several cemeteries. A most interesting discovery was made by the experts who analysed some of this amber from Bellinzona graves. They found that it came not from the Baltic but from Sicily.[2] Here, then, there is repeated evidence of a lively trade in all sorts of products, pottery, bronze vessels, amber and coral, all of which came from the southern coasts of Italy and passed up the Alpine road to the Rhine and beyond.

From this brief *résumé* we may obtain a picture of the life and civilization of the Ligurian settlements round Bellinzona. They derived a little from each of the various centres which forwarded its merchandise through their hands. Thus they came to possess a good deal from Campania, a little from Etruria and Bologna, many small objects from their neighbours on the Ticino and Lake Como, and now and again a brooch or a pin brought from the north side of the Alps. Independently they practised a few simple crafts of their own, especially bronze-working, in which they showed dexterity but no artistic sense. Sometimes, but rarely, one or two of their best local works may have wandered down into Lombardy.

[1] The finest example from the Golaseccan region is the necklace shown in no. 1 of my Plate 15, which has sixty-two discs of amber alternating with tubes of bronze.

[2] *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, 1916, pp. 169–82.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 22

PLATE 22. ZÜRICH. Objects from the cemeteries of Cerinasca and Castione near Bellinzona, in the museum of Zürich. Reproduced from Ulrich, *Die Gräberfelde in der Umgebung von Bellinzona.*

No. 1, Bronze fibula with pendent toilet implements. Op. cit., Taf. 28, no. 7.

No. 2, Bronze pendant. Op. cit., Taf. 13, no. 9.

No. 3, Bronze pendant. Op. cit., Taf. 5, no. 16.

No. 4, Bronze bracelet with pendants. Op. cit., Taf. 5, no. 12.

No. 5, Bronze thorn-fibula. Op. cit., Taf. 28, no. 3.

No. 6, Bronze girdle with repoussé ornament. Op. cit., Taf. 17, no. 4.

No. 7, Bronze girdle with repoussé ornament and engraved figures of animals. Op. cit., Taf. 28, no. 13.

No. 8, Bronze girdle with repoussé ornament Op. cit., Taf. 17, no. 5.

Scale throughout is $\frac{1}{2}$.

BELLINZONA. Typical Objects from the Cemeteries

Lombardy South of the Lakes. Sporadic Finds

Beyond the inner circle which we have studied in the thickly settled country between the course of the Ticino and that of the Adda only sporadic finds have been made. From Palestro on the Sesia came the coral-studded fibula with its numerous pendent articles shown in no. 1 of Plate 19.[1] At Abbasso del Motto in the province of Novara six graves were found with pottery ossuaries and bowls described as resembling those of Castelletto Ticino.[2] At S. Bernardino di Novara excavations made in 1920–1 by the museum of Torino brought to light some tombs described as tumuli from which came objects of the Middle Comacine period.[3]

In the province of Pavia some interesting tombs, found on the site of Bissone, belong to the earliest Comacine period; they contained not only semicircular bow fibulae but also an elastic bow with a disc catch-point, unique in this region.[4] On the lower Adda, south of Milan, is Lodi, in the neighbourhood of which numerous objects have been found of the Late Period.[5]

A little north of this, between Monza and Bergamo, is Trezzo, where the important situla was found which has been described on p. 75, and quite near Trezzo is Brembate-Sotto, where some workmen making a road happened to come upon tombs of the Late Comacine period. Fourteen of these were then systematically excavated and studied by Mantovani.[6] In most respects, Brembate Sotto is very similar to Civiglio, but it is remarkable for several bronze situlae and bronze oenochoae of Campanian or Etruscan manufacture.

From the level of Bergamo eastwards is an archaeological blank until we strike the outlying region of Atestine influence, varied by occasional Etruscan imports, about Verona.[7]

North of Verona the line of the Brenner is practically unexplored except for the interesting site of Vadena, which is so suggestive and yet so exasperating from the incompleteness of its records. Orsi's account of Vadena, which includes everything that can be said about it, suggests that some day we may learn a great deal from the Trentino, and it is most earnestly to be wished that

[1] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 24, 25, and *Not. Scavi*, 1897, pp. 1–6. It is at Torino.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxviii, p. 54, and vol. xxix, p. 240.

[3] Still unpublished.

[4] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxii, p. 169, and vol. xxiii, p. 19, with plate. The specimens are at Torino. For the fibula, cf. Montelius, Série A, Plate XV, no. 209.

[5] This site gives its name to the 'gruppo lodigiano' studied by Castelfranco in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ix, pp. 182–202.

[6] *Not. Scavi*, 1888, pp. 673–81, and 1890, pp. 96–103.

[7] For the fine conical helmet of Etruscan workmanship found at Oppeano in the Veronese, see Montelius, Plate 49, and *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. iv, p. 105.

thorough explorations might be undertaken throughout that region.[1] When sufficient material has been collected it may very possibly result that there is an almost homogeneous culture in the Middle and Comacine periods extending from the Sesia on the west to the Isonzo on the east. But for the present this must remain little more than a conjecture of my own, which future discoveries may or may not verify.

Liguria. Tombs at Savignone and in Massa Carrara

South of the Po in the provinces which the classical atlas of Roman times ascribes to the Ligurians hardly anything is known of the archaeology of the Iron Age. Near Genoa and in the Apuan Alps between Genoa and Pisa cremation cemeteries have been found on several sites, but with one or two exceptions they belong to the Gallo-Roman period.[2]

The principal exception is Savignone, situated north of Genoa and to the east of the Monte dei Giovi. Two tombs were found here, built of slabs to form cists like so many that have been described already. The first contained a pottery ossuary and a smaller spherical pot, which may or may not have been an ossuary, each covered with a reversed bowl. The ossuary was of a form and style similar to the Golaseccan, while its bowl was of the distinctly Golaseccan ' double-burnished ' technique. A bronze Certosa fibula, iron sword, two iron spears, and a late form of winged iron axe were found in one of the two tombs. The second tomb contained pottery of the same general character as the first. These, then, may be safely dated to the Late Comacine period.[3]

Similar to this find were the contents of a tomb at Roccatagliata, viz. a Certosa fibula, iron sword, and spears.[4]

In the Garfagnana section of the province of Massa Carrara nine cinerary

[1] The site of Vadena was described by Orsi in an article in the *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, Anno IV, fasc. 1, pp. 1–89. The author distributes his material between an early period, equivalent apparently to First and Second Benacci, a middle period which is Certosan, and a late period which is Gaulish. The affinities of the early period are with the earlier Villanovan of Bologna; but reminiscences of the Terremaricoli are close and numerous. Accordingly Orsi believes the population of Vadena to be connected by blood with the inhabitants of Peschiera on Lake Garda. In the Certosan period some of the small ornaments closely resemble those of the Comacines. The quantity of material available for study was only a very small proportion of all that had been discovered since 1852. This incompleteness, and the fact that there are no records as to the grouping and association of the objects, must render it impossible to utilize Vadena as evidence. Apart from the private collection of the Thunn family, there is a small selection of specimens from this site in the Museo Civico at Rovereto.

[2] For Cenisola and Ameglia, which are Gallo-Roman and Roman, see Montelius, Plates 163–5, with accompanying bibliography. For cremation tombs containing late Greek pottery found in the city of Genoa itself see *Not. Scavi*, 1898, p. 395, and Montelius, Plate 165.

[3] *Rendiconti Acc. Lincei*, Ser. V, vol. iii, pp. 206–20, or *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxi, pp. 99–102.

[4] Illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 163, nos. 11 and 13, Plate 164, no. 7.

urns were found, each in a cist of stone slabs. The only intact ossuary is described as being of Golaseccan form, covered with a bowl of the ' double-burnished ' ware. With it were two broken fibulae of the late sanguisuga type.[1]

In the same district two more cremation graves were found at S. Romano, in the valley of the Serchio. The slabs of the cist were inscribed with the word AKIU in Etruscan letters. A Certosa fibula certifies the date.[2]

It seems probable, then, that the Comacine culture, at least in its later phases, had spread over a considerable part of Lombardy and even into some parts of Liguria. But the sites are so far apart, and the gaps are so considerable, that our present knowledge would not justify us in claiming the whole tract west of a vertical line drawn through Parma and Pisa as exclusively given over to cremation. Accordingly, in Plate 1, my map of the burial rites, I have thought it only proper to mark this tract as ' uncertain and mixed '. In the Neolithic Age part of this country was inhabited by an inhuming race ; for the Bronze Age there is no evidence, but if the population remained unchanged till the Iron Age, except for the irruption of Comacines and Golaseccans, it is probable that the burial rite of the natives also remained unchanged. Consequently, we should expect to find inhumation cemeteries. Actually, however, the only inhumation cemeteries known are in the north-west, viz. in the Canton Ticino about Bellinzona. It is a reasonable theory that these are Ligurians, but it cannot be accepted as proved.[3] In any case, however, the civilization of Canton Ticino is so largely made up of borrowed and imported elements that it must not be regarded as characteristic of the Ligurians as a whole. This people remains an almost unknown element ; classical authors describe the Ligurians as a very primitive uncivilized folk, and perhaps they hardly enter as a factor of any importance into the pre-history of Northern Italy.

Widespread simple Art which is generically Alpine

But there seems to be a simple and barbaric art proper to the Golaseccans and Comacines, shared by the Ticinese and even to some extent by the Istrians, which I should describe as ' generically Alpine '. Apart from borrowings and manifest imitations from the Etruscan we may perhaps see in the little ornaments such as bracelets, necklaces, and pendants (Plates 15, 18, 19), in

[1] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxix, pp. 103–7.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xli, pp. 85–8.

[3] The only other hypothesis, never yet suggested so far as I know, would be that the inhuming peoples of Bellinzona had come *down* the trade route from Switzerland instead of coming up to it from Lombardy or Piemonte. I make the suggestion, merely as a suggestion, in order to exhaust the possibilities. It is for Swiss archaeologists to decide whether it is worth consideration.

some of the beaten metal work (cf. Plate 22), and in the characteristic ' double-burnished ' pottery, a native style which is independent and original.[1] This western branch of the cremating peoples of the Iron Age did not indeed contribute in any large measure to the artistic development of Early Italy, but it possessed a distinct individuality which is worth studying in its slow evolution up to the time when it was suppressed by the inundation of invading Gauls.

[1] I have remarked already, and shall have occasion to remark again, upon the identity of some of the smaller ornaments used by the Comacines with those found in Picenum. It is difficult to say where the styles originated. They may be Istrian or they may be Picene. Or the ornaments may be actually Comacine products, though this seems rather less likely.

PART II

CENTRAL ITALY: PICENUM AND PART OF UMBRIA

IV

THE PICENES

THE only Picene site on the east coast of which any detailed account has ever been published is that of Novilara, seven kilometres south of Pesaro.[1] An impetus to exploration in this neighbourhood was given by the knowledge that two very remarkable and peculiar stelae with spiral ornamentation, one of which was also engraved with scenes of a naval battle, had been accidentally found in 1860 and 1866. Undset, in commenting on these stelae,[2] had suggested that it would be well worth while to search for the cemeteries to which they had belonged, and in 1891 Gamurrini was fortunate enough to find the clue. He had heard that eighteen years before certain antiquities had been found on the estate of Countess Servici at Novilara, and on this indication he proceeded to make trial soundings, which resulted in the discovery of two inhumation graves. These were described in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1892, and enabled Brizio to identify the type as essentially similar to that of certain graves found not long before at Numana. The Numana cemetery was indeed much later in date, belonging for the most part to the fourth century, as was sufficiently evident from its late Greek vases, but the burial rite and the general style and character of the graves were so nearly identical as to prove that Novilara and Numana were inhabited by the same people. Extending his comparisons to other sites, which were already partially known, Brizio felt able to claim that not only Novilara but also Monteroberto, Ancona, Numana, Osimo, and Tolentino belonged to a homogeneous Picene stock, of which the boundaries extended at least from the river Foglia to the Chienti.[3] We shall see in the course of this chapter and the next that his view has been abundantly justified, and we shall also see reason to assign a much greater area than Brizio gave in his first tentative essay to the ramifications of the Picene culture.

As a result of the general interest awakened by his suggestions, Brizio was commissioned by the Government to undertake systematic excavations at Novilara, which began in July 1892 and lasted for about a year. The work was carried out on two sites immediately adjoining one another, described by

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. v, 'La necropoli di Novilara', by E. Brizio, cols. 85–438, with ten plates. The objects are in the Museo Oliveriano of Pesaro. There is also a small series in the museum of Bologna.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. XV.

[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1892, pp. 224–7.

the names of the respective landowners as the Molaroni and the Servici cemeteries. Traces were found of the original villages, built of round huts and littered with broken pottery and kitchen débris, while just beyond these *fondi di capanne* were the graves. In the Molaroni cemetery 142 graves were opened, and in the Servici 121. The contents were taken to the museum of Pesaro, and a full and careful inventory with a critical analysis was published in vol. v of the *Monumenti Antichi*.

The first and most essential difference between the Picenes on the one hand, and the Villanovans, Atestines, and Comacines on the other, consists in the contrast of their burial rite. For whereas the Villanovans and cognate peoples burned the dead and placed their ashes in a pottery jar, the Picenes

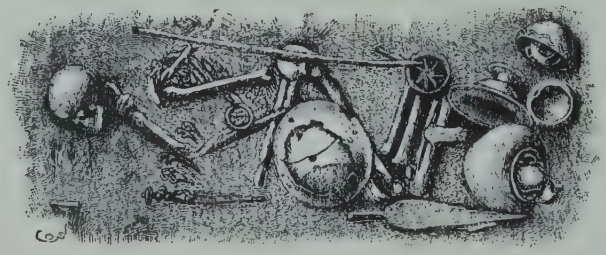


Fig. 24. A typical Picene grave, Servici 43. From Montelius, Plate 145, after Brizio. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

laid the bodies in the ground, wrapped in the very garments which they had worn. Fragments of the textiles are often still preserved, the ornaments lie in their natural place where they were carried in life, fibulae on the chest, necklaces on the neck, earrings beside the head, and bracelets on the arms. A typical Picene grave may be seen in Fig. 24 from the Servici cemetery at Novilara. It shows a warrior surrounded with his helmet, weapons, and vessels for food and drink, lying on strewn gravel in an oblong trench 2·25 mm. long, by 1·10 mm. wide, and 2·52 mm. deep, the sides of which were roughly plastered.[1]

It will be observed that the body is not fully extended, but the thighs are sharply bent, and the line from knee to foot is at right angles to the axis of the grave. This is the embryonic posture, *rannichiato*, as of a person lying naturally in sleep, which is so often used by primitive peoples, and was generally employed during the Neolithic Age in Italy as well as in other countries. So that on the Adriatic coast in the Iron Age the inhabitants retained unchanged the burial habits which had been universal all over the peninsula before the coming of the Bronze Age invaders.

[1] The weapons from this tomb, Servici 43, are shown in Plate 23, nos. 13–16.

Chronology of the two Cemeteries at Novilara

The Molaroni cemetery is the earlier of the two, but a great many of its graves are contemporary with the first stages of the Servici. It is quite indispensable that the main lines of the chronology should be understood, and they may be laid down at once. Let me say, then, to avoid any possible confusion, that there has been for a good many years a distinct tendency to over-estimate the antiquity of the Novilara culture. When the stelae were first discovered the spiral character of the ornament misled many writers, and there was a general inclination to connect them directly with Mycenaean art. This, however, was a false turn. The ultimate derivation of these spiral motives may be from Mycenae or Egypt of the eighteenth dynasty, but their date is not to be judged by this. The objects found in tombs with decorated Picene stelae conclusively prove them to be not earlier than the eighth century

Fig. 25. Bronze violin-bow fibula, Molaroni 110, from *Mon. Ant.*, v, fig. 13. Scale ½.

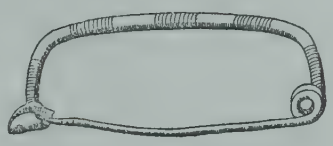


Fig. 26. Bronze bow fibula, Molaroni 105, from *Mon. Ant.*, v, fig. 14. Scale ½.

B.C. On the other hand, there are a few graves in the Molaroni cemetery which may go back to the tenth, and one which might even be assigned to the eleventh century. But they are very few, and all the interesting and characteristic objects of either site belong to the eighth and seventh centuries. It is misleading, therefore, when Montelius writes, 'le mobilier prouve que la plupart des tombes de Novilara datent des 10–8 siècles.' The emphasis should be quite differently placed. Actually, as close comparative analysis will at once show, a *few* tombs are earlier than the middle of the ninth century, but the immense majority lie between 850 and 600 B.C. These statements can be proved by a review of the fibulae and an estimate of their relative frequency. Seven types of fibulae which occur in the Molaroni cemetery, but not in the Servici, may be classed in general terms as archaic.

The first of them, Fig. 25, is an extremely ancient type known as the 'violin-bow', which is characteristic of the Bronze Age. It was found in the lake dwelling of Peschiera, and does not ever occur after that transitional stage between the Bronze and Iron Ages which is represented by such cemeteries as Timmari and Pianello. The violin-bow has disappeared among the Villanovans even before the First Benacci period; so that its occurrence at Novilara ought

to date one burial at least before 1000 B.C.[1] Fig. 26 is another very ancient type, the plain bow, lineally descended from the violin-bow, and only a very little modified. Only two examples of this were found, both in grave 105 of Molaroni. Curiously enough, the next stage of evolution, the round bow of cylindrical wire which is so exceedingly common at Pianello, does not occur at Novilara.

FIG. 27. Bronze spectacle-fibula, Molaroni 70, from *Mon. Ant.*, v, fig. 15. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

The 'spectacle-fibula', made of two spirals, is well known in Greece and the Balkans, but is entirely absent from the Bolognese, and almost confined to the east side of the Apennines[2] or to Southern Italy. It belongs to the full Iron Age, and may be dated to ninth or eighth century by its occurrence at Finocchito in Sicily. In the Molaroni cemetery the spectacle-fibula was found three times, viz. in graves 4, 14, 70.

The bow with an oblong back of flat ribbon, which is also found three times, viz. in graves 3, 39, 60 of Molaroni, is a form proper to the earlier stages of the Iron Age which occurs sometimes in Villanovan graves of the First Benacci period. A more elaborate development of this is the willow-leaf fibula, of which the oldest type from Molaroni 57 is shown here as Fig. 28.

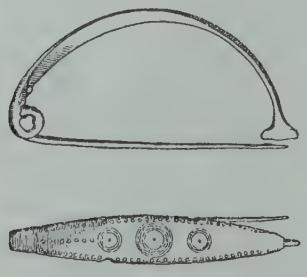


FIG. 28. Bronze willow-leaf fibula, Molaroni 57, from *Mon. Ant.*, v, fig. 16. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

A unique fibula from Molaroni 93, which has a leaf-shaped back and a disc instead of a catch-point, is illustrated by Montelius in no. 18 of his Plate 148. We may perhaps regard the willow-leaf as the ancestor of the boat-fibula, which is formed by bending over the edges of the flat ribbon so as to make a curved back. This becomes one of the commonest types all over Italy and undergoes a long process of development. In the earliest and simplest form, as seen in Fig. 29, it occurs in four Molaroni tombs, nos. 2, 22, 62, 116, which may therefore be assigned to the ninth century.

[1] Grave 110 of the Molaroni cemetery, unfortunately containing no other objects except two small earthenware pots and the bronze pin of a fibula.

[2] It is common at Terni, where, however, there was a Picene settlement, as described towards the end of this chapter.

With the exception of the willow-leaf and the boat-fibula which appear in the later forms of their evolution in the Servici cemetery these seven types are peculiar to the Molaroni. And they are sufficient to prove that there is a genuinely 'archaic' period at Novilara, which may be defined as from the eleventh to the middle of the ninth century. But, as we have seen, the number of graves that can be assigned to this period is very small. Judging from the evidence of the fibulae there are at most fourteen, though it may be conceded that a few more of the graves which contain too little tomb-furniture for exact grading may be equally ancient. But it is quite evident that a large proportion of the Molaroni graves are much later than First Benacci; they are contemporary with the full Second Benacci and even with the earlier Arnoaldi of Bologna, ranging through the latter part of the ninth and the whole of the eighth centuries. This is proved by the rhomboidal bodies and the long catch-points of the boat-fibulae. Accordingly, the reader of Brizio's memoir must be very careful not to classify the whole Molaroni cemetery as 'archaic' in this sense, or to form conclusions on that basis. It is owing to a mistaken generalization of this nature that some writers have suggested that iron appears earlier, and is more abundant, in Picene cemeteries than in other parts of Italy. When it is clearly understood that very few Novilaran burials are earlier than the full Second Benacci of Bologna all ground for such a suggestion disappears. Iron is frequent in the Second Benacci, and abundant in the Arnoaldi period, all over Italy on both sides of the Apennines. The fourteen tombs[1] that may be assigned to the two centuries, 1050 to 850 B.C., are too poor in objects to afford a very clear picture of Picene civilization in that period. Bronze rings and a bronze pin were found with the bow fibula; bronze spiral twists, a necklace of bone plaques with amber beads, two bronze circlets threaded with rings of amber as earrings, and a necklace of glaze beads accompanied the spectacle fibulae. With the oblong-backed fibulae were a fine necklace of amber rings and a number of glaze beads; and with the disc fibula were amber buttons and numerous glaze beads. In the graves containing the boat-fibula there were very numerous pieces of amber, including trapezoidal plaques for a necklace. There is no mention of iron in any of the fourteen tombs.

FIG. 29. Bronze boat-fibula, Molaroni 22, from *Mon. Ant.*, v, tav. viii. Scale ½.

All that seems to emerge from this is that in the ninth, and perhaps the tenth, century there was a very active trade on this part of the Adriatic coast both in amber and in beads of glass paste, and that fibulae were used of which some were unknown to the neighbouring Bolognese. As these fibulae, moreover,

[1] Viz. nos. 2, 3, 4, 14, 22, 39, 57, 60, 62, 70, 93, 105, 110, 116.

are quite familiar at the same period in Greece and Sicily there is a hint of trade connexions with these two countries. Already we seem to see that the Picenes look not to the west and north so much as to the south and east for their development.

Leaving the archaic period we find that many of the graves on the Molaroni site are late Second Benacci, and that the earlier Servici graves form an unbroken chronological sequence with them and even slightly overlap. Thus, in the earliest Servici there are still boat-fibulae with short catch-points, but these are few in number ; the usual forms all through the Servici are the rhomboidal navicella and the serpentine, both with very long catch-points. These are types characteristic of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The usual form of the serpentine is that seen in no. 14 of Plate 23, which is common all over Italy. Another familiar and widely diffused type is the serpentine with side rods ending in studs (Montelius, Plate 148, no. 19), which is found, amongst other places, at Finocchito. A very curious variant of the serpentine is to be seen in no. 17 of Plate 25.

Fibulae with a bifid and even trifid body occur on several Picene sites, and there is one in the Servici cemetery shown as no. 3 in Montelius, Plate 148, but the example with two distinct pins illustrated in no. 14 of my Plate 25 is unique. A plain bow threaded with a single large piece of amber, as in no. 3 of Plate 25, occurs constantly in both cemeteries, and is confined to no particular period. A few iron fibulae were found, of the same shapes as the more usual bronze types. The Certosa fibula is entirely absent from Novilara, and there is no evidence that any graves are later than the first part of the sixth century.

On the evidence of the fibulae, then, it would seem to be quite clear that the Molaroni cemetery dates from the eleventh or twelfth to the eighth century, with a very great proportion of its graves in the second half of this term, and that the Servici dates from the eighth to the sixth. And as everything that is individual or striking at Novilara belongs to the eighth and seventh centuries, I shall treat the site from this point of view, as giving a picture of Picene civilization near Pesaro from 800 to 600 B.C.

On reviewing the illustrations given by Brizio in vol. v of the *Monumenti Antichi*,[1] one cannot fail to be impressed with the new and unfamiliar character of most of the objects. There is hardly anything that reminds us of Bologna, and only a few occasional objects, principally bronze vessels, seem to have been imported from Etruria. The Novilarans seem to have sent to Bologna for their razors, inasmuch as the semi-lunar type, no. 19 in Plate 23, occurs nine times on the Servici site alone. The later knife-razor, no. 9 of Plate 23,

[1] Reproduced by Montelius, Plates 143–50.

familiar on the Arnoaldi sites, also occurs nine times; in two graves there is an example of each kind. Ribbed cists, e.g. no. 12 in Plate 23 and no. 18 in Plate 25, occur five times; and as in one case the cist is accompanied by a censer, no. 11 of Plate 23, we may perhaps regard them as of Etruscan rather than Bolognese manufacture. Censers of this type have been found at Narce and at Tarquinii.[1] The bronze basin, shown as no. 20 in Plate 25, cannot be exactly paralleled, but somewhat resembles Etruscan work in its general character. The ribbon-handled bronze bowls and cups which are not uncommon at Novilara are very frequent in Etruscan graves of the period.

With these few exceptions, however, the products of the Novilara graves are strikingly individual and peculiar. The most interesting of all are the weapons.

Picene Weapons as seen at Novilara

The Picenes were evidently a very warlike people, and every man's grave contained the more or less complete outfit of a warrior. The most frequent weapon was the spear, which in the 'archaic' period had always been of bronze, but in the eighth and seventh centuries was almost invariably of iron. No less than forty-eight spears were found in the Servici cemetery, and only four out of thirty-seven men's graves were without them. Only one spear-head was of bronze, two were of flint, one was of iron with a bronze socket, and the remainder were entirely of iron. The typical shapes are two, viz. the long thin triangular blade (no. 20 of Plate 23) which is the older, and the broad leaf-shape (no. 16 of Plate 23) which is the later. In several instances the wood of the shaft was still preserved within the tubular end, to which it had been fastened with a strong twist of bronze wire or, in one case at least, with a bronze ring. Out of the thirty-three graves, two-thirds, that is to say, twenty-one, had a single spear, nine had a pair, two had three, and one had four. In the Molaroni graves there was never more than a single spear in a tomb, and Brizio points out that the inscribed stele (no. 4 a in Plate 24) shows the warriors armed with only one spear apiece.

In a few Servici[2] graves iron javelins were found, long thin rods with an arrow-shaped point; they varied in length from about thirty-two centimetres to a metre.

Swords were less numerous than spears, being found in only ten graves. The most characteristic type may be best understood from the example in no. 17 of Plate 23. It is a rather broad and short iron blade, varying in length

[1] Studied by Ducati in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 11–29.

[2] From this point to the end of the account the graves are always from the Servici cemetery unless otherwise specified.

from thirty to forty centimetres, curving back at the hilt, with its cutting edge on the inside of the curve. Three nails, which are still visible, fastened the blade into a wooden handle which has generally perished. The sheath was also of wood, but in some cases it was covered with bronze sheets, sometimes handsomely engraved or otherwise ornamented, as in the very fine example shown as no. 8 of Plate 23. When the sword hung from the belt, to which it was attached by two rings on the sheath, this fully decorated side was presented to view. It is composed of four sheets of bronze bound on to the wood by broad bands. At the top and bottom the bronze is replaced by an ivory plaque engraved with a similar herring-bone pattern. On the reverse side the wooden

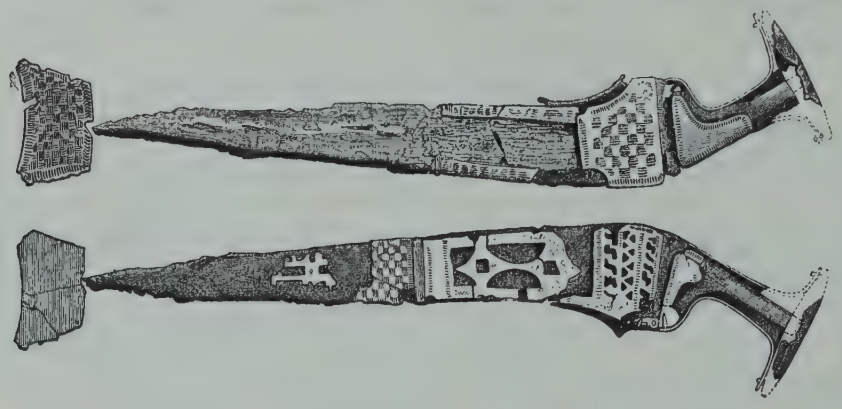


Fig. 30. Iron sword in wooden sheath covered with bronze, Servici 14. From Montelius, Plate 146, after Brizio. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

sheath was only covered with bronze at the top and bottom, the remainder being left plain. The handle was of wood, enclosing the iron shank which was set back at an angle to the blade ; it ended in a cross-piece of bronze.

The remarkable shape of the sheath is most clearly shown by the drawing in Plate 23, but the weapon itself may be better studied in another example shown here as Fig. 30. In this the bronze covering of the wood was only partial, not complete ; and on its finer side the decoration was not engraved but done in open work, with patterns of triangles and maeanders. The sword, fifty centimetres long including the shank, is straight and tapering after it leaves the angle at the hilt. In this example the bronze covering of the hilt also is partially preserved.

These Picene swords are extremely interesting. There can be no doubt that they were imported from the Balkans, as the type has occurred quite frequently in Bosnian cemeteries of the same period.[1] Their date at Novilara

[1] *Wissenchaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, Bd. VI, p. 99.

is well established by the objects found with them, as in tombs 2 and 42 the swords were accompanied by the two different forms of razor, viz. the semilunar and the knife-blade (nos. 9 and 19 of Plate 23), a combination which could only occur in the late eighth century. Earlier than this, in the tenth and ninth centuries, the Picenes were sometimes at least using the antennae-sword of Hallstatt type, as two of these have been found near Ancona and one at Ascoli.

Two other kinds of swords occur in the Servici graves. The one which is shown as Fig. 31 was found only once at Novilara. It is thirty-eight centimetres long, and still has the nails by which it was fastened into a wooden hilt. Brizio points out that it is a type which occurs in Greek vase-paintings, and that it has been found at Perugia, Tarquinii, Falerii, and Praeneste.

Definitely Greek in form is the other sword, shown as Fig. 32, which is well known in vase-paintings, but also occurs only once. Unlike the rest it is double-edged, with a central rib instead of a thick back. It is 30½ centimetres

Fig. 31. Iron sword, Servici 101. From *Mon. Ant.*, v, tav. xiv. Scale ⅓.

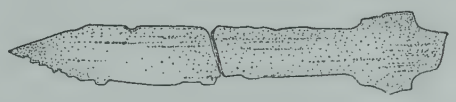


Fig. 32. Iron sword, Servici 44. From *Mon. Ant.*, v, tav. xiv. Scale just over ⅕.

long, including the small part of the hilt which has survived; handle and sheath must have been of wood, some traces of which remain on the blade. Similar specimens have been found at Tolentino.[1]

After the swords we may consider the daggers, the most frequent of all the weapons except spears. They were found in eighteen tombs, almost always in association with other weapons, and exhibit three varieties of form. There are those with a straight triangular blade, those with a curved blade, and those with a straight blade ending in a long spit. The first class is illustrated by no. 1 in Plate 23; in this the triangular blade is broad near the hilt and tapers gradually to a sharp point; the handle is a plain spike ending in five little balls and covered with wood. The sheath is sometimes of wood but more often of iron, ending in a round iron boss; a ring near the top of the sheath served to attach the dagger to the belt.[2] To this form of dagger and handle there are numerous more or less close analogies in the Hallstatt repertoire.

The second class of dagger is illustrated by no. 5 in Plate 23, a curved blade measuring without its hilt twenty-seven centimetres, fitting into an iron sheath shown as no. 6. As the Novilara example is imperfect I reproduce

[1] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. vi, tav. ix, no. 26.

[2] In no. 15 of Plate 23 the ring has become displaced and accidentally attached itself by oxidization to the hilt instead of to the sheath.

as Fig. 33 a perfect example of the same pattern from the Bologna Museum, which Brizio found at Verucchio. The iron hilt and iron sheath are decorated with bosses of bronze, and the sheath terminates in a series of bulbs, all of iron except the lowest, which is bronze. For this class of dagger the sheath was always of iron, with only one exception, when it was of wood closely wrapped in bronze wire to give the effect of a metal covering.

The third class is illustrated by nos. 2 and 3 in Plate 23. In this the blade continues of about the same width for the first third of its length, then abruptly narrows so that it is more like a sharp spit than a dagger. The hilt is of wood enclosing an iron shank, and at the top of the hilt is a round bulb of iron. As it follows the shape of the blade the iron sheath also decreases in width after the first third of its length ; near the top it has a ring for suspension.

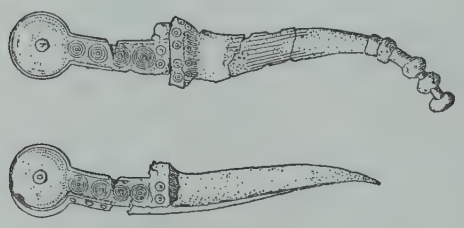


Fig. 33. Iron dagger and iron sheath from Verucchio. From *Mon. Ant.*, v, fig. 54. Total length 48 centimetres.

There were six daggers of the first class, five of the second, and seven of the third in the Servici cemetery.

Iron axes (Montelius, Plate 145, no. 4) were found in five tombs of warriors, and may therefore be regarded as weapons ; especially as one of the combatants on the stele, no. 4 of Plate 24, is armed with an axe. On the other hand, they may have been used for more peaceful purposes, such as the killing of animals, for Brizio aptly points out that in grave 43 the axe was accompanied not only by spits but by the regular flesh-hook pempobolon.

We have seen that the daggers were attached to belts. These were of leather, fastened by simple bronze buckles of various designs. In most cases the leather had perished and nothing remained except the metal fastenings, but one belt was sufficiently intact to permit of illustration, and this is shown in nos. 12 and 13 of Plate 25. The leather is studded with large and small bronze bosses arranged in a simple pattern ; the buckles are strong plaques of bronze terminating on the one side with two pairs of rings and on the other with hooks to match the rings.

That shields formed part of the warrior's equipment seems to be proved by the occurrence of an elliptical bronze umbo shown as no. 4 of Plate 23. It measures 25 × 20 centimetres, and is decorated in the centre with plain round mouldings. Round the margin runs a fluted band in repoussé, pierced at regular intervals by large-headed nails. This shows that the oval bronze plate was only the centre of a wooden shield, on to which it had been nailed.

As no doubt the entire shield would have followed the shape of the umbo, it follows that it must have been oval, like the shields carried by the Greek warriors of the Dipylon time.

Next we come to the helmets, of which the Servici site furnished six, and a late Molaroni grave one example. They are of bronze and belong to two classes, viz. the shrapnel-helmet illustrated in no. 13 of Plate 23, and the brimless calotta or conical cap shown in nos. 7 and 10 of the same plate. Shrapnel-helmets are made of several sheets of bronze hammered to the required curve, and then riveted together with nails. This technique can be observed better in the example given by Montelius as no. 3 of his Plate 146 than in my illustration. At the top of the helmet are two projecting nails with rounded tops, probably intended to support a plume. On the inside there was a leather lining and a stuffing of some soft material which reduced the unnaturally large diameter. This stuffing explains the thinness of the bronze plates, which would have been far too weak adequately to protect the head. For a parallel to this type we must go either to Watsch or to Sesto Calende, as the shrapnel-helmets of Vetulonia, though similar in shape, are beaten out of a single sheet of metal.[1]

The conical helmets consist of two parts, viz. the cap itself, made of a single sheet, and the ridge-shaped crest attached to it. In the example from grave 30, no. 10 in Plate 23, the crest has perished, but the two rows of rivet-holes on the line where it was attached are plainly visible. Brizio infers that in cases like this, when the crest has perished, it must have been of leather. In no. 7 of Plate 23 there can be seen a well-preserved bronze crest, projecting nearly five centimetres, and descending on the one side to the bottom of the cap and on the other to about six centimetres above the bottom. It does not form a single sharp edge like the crest on the helmets of Etruria; on the contrary, it makes two distinct ridges with a flat space of a centimetre or two centimetres between the ridges, and in this space was fixed a plume, of which some fragments had actually survived in one grave. Brizio well points out the resemblance, not only to helmets found in the cemeteries of Istria, but also to those shown on Dipylon vase-paintings.[2]

[1] At Sesto Calende the actual example is much later in date, but a good type once invented might well survive, especially in the remote region of the Ticino.

[2] Cf. *Athen. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 211.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 23

PLATE 23. NOVILARA. Weapons and other objects typical of eighth and seventh centuries B.C., selected and rearranged from Montelius, Plates 144–7 (*Mon. Ant.*, vol. v), with special reference to their grouping in tomb sets.

No. 1, iron dagger. Servici 107. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

Nos. 2 and 3, iron dagger with iron sheath. Servici 11. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 4, bronze umbo of shield. Servici 60. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

Nos. 5 and 6, iron dagger with iron sheath. Servici 26. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 7, bronze helmet. Servici 2. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 8, iron sword, in a wooden sheath, covered with bronze and ivory. Servici 2. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 9, bronze knife-razor. Servici 26. Scale not quite $\frac{1}{3}$.

No. 10, bronze helmet. Servici 30. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 11, bronze censer. Servici 30. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 12, bronze ribbed cist. Servici 30. Scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 13, bronze helmet. Servici 43. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 14, bronze fibula. Servici 43. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 15, iron dagger. Servici 43. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

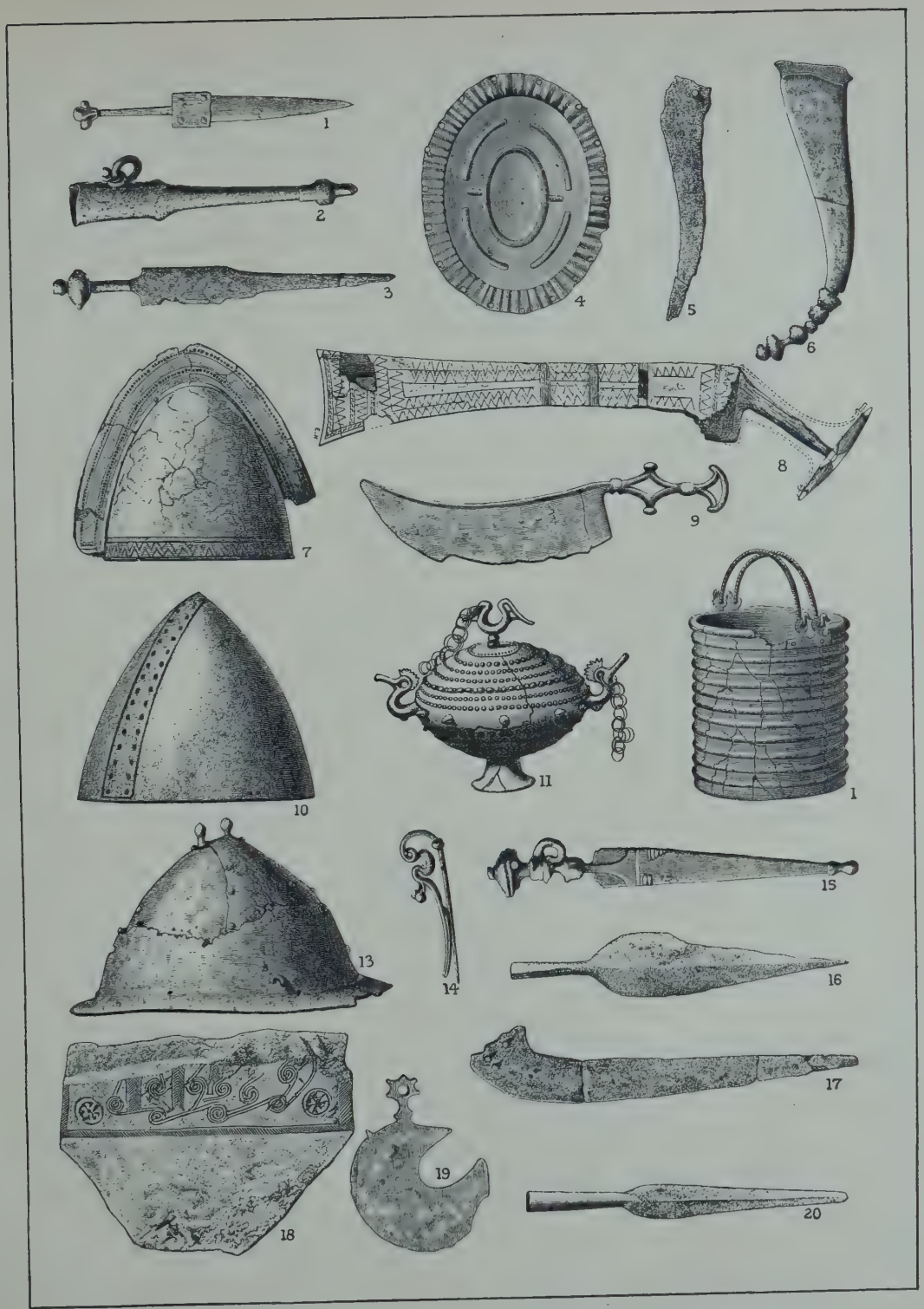
No. 16, iron spear. Servici 43. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 17, iron sword-blade. Servici 42. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 18, stone stele. Servici 42. Scale $\frac{1}{18}$.

No. 19, bronze razor, of type found in Servici 42. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

No. 20, iron spear with bronze socket. Servici 42. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.



NOVILARA. Picene Weapons of the Eighth and Seventh Centuries

Tomb-groups in which the Weapons occurred

In Plate 23 the weapons have been arranged according to the tomb-groups in which they were found, so as to show their association with other objects which serve to date them. It will be useful, therefore, to complete the list of objects found in each case, enumerating the graves according to the order in which they appear on the plate. I omit the pottery, which is of very slight interest or importance.

In grave 107, then, with no. 1, were associated seven serpentine fibulae, the iron sheath of the dagger, an iron leaf-shaped spear-head much shorter and more obtuse than no. 16, and a bronze bowl with ribbon handle.

In grave 11, with nos. 2 and 3, were a serpentine fibula, an iron spear-head, and two thin bronze rods.

In grave 60, with the shield, no. 4, were an iron spear-head and the belt which is illustrated as nos. 12 and 13 in Plate 25.

In grave 26, with nos. 5 and 6, were four serpentine fibulae, the knife-razor shown as no. 9 of Plate 23, an iron spear-head, and two iron bosses $9\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres in diameter.

In grave 2, with nos. 7 and 8, were two iron spear-heads, a semi-lunar razor like no. 19, and a knife-razor like no. 9, four fibulae of which one is described as a boat-form with very long catch-point, bronze pin, bronze hook from a girdle-clasp, and a ribbed cist of bronze.

In grave 30, with the helmet, censer, and ribbed cist was an iron sword of the type shown in no. 17.

In grave 43, with nos. 13–16, were three more serpentine fibulae of the type shown as no. 14, two iron javelins, a smaller iron spear, iron pempobolon, iron bracelet, iron axe, and iron butt of a spear.

In grave 42 were four serpentine fibulae, a thin bronze rod, bronze chisel, two flat bronze rings, a bronze knife-razor as well as the semi-lunar razor, together with the sword and spear, and the very important stele, no. 18, which will now be described in connexion with the other Picene stelae.

Decorated or inscribed Stelae found at Novilara

The stele of grave 42 in the Servici cemetery was found actually in position, standing up above the grave as shown in Montelius, Plate 144.

This is the only instance in which a decorated or inscribed Picene stele has been found in precisely its original place. Between graves 52, 54, and

56, however, lying in the loose earth, and obviously fallen from one of these graves, was the fragment shown as no. 2 in my Plate 24.

Three other stelae are illustrated in Plate 24. The first, no. 1, decorated on one of its faces with a fine pattern of spirals, was found on the Molaroni estate in 1866.

No. 3 of Plate 24 is decorated on both faces. On the one side it has a pattern of spirals, no. 3 a, not unlike that of the Molaroni example. On the other side it is engraved, no. 3 b, with representations of a naval battle between boats manned by oarsmen, and fitted in one case with a mast and sails. This was found in 1860 at S. Nicola in Valmanente between Novilara and Pesaro.

No. 4 of Plate 24, also engraved on both faces, has on the one side pictures of men fighting and hunting, and on the other side, no. 4 b, an inscription of twelve lines enclosed within a border of spirals and surmounted by a wheel. This was found three years before the scientific excavations were undertaken at Novilara, and Brizio suspects it to have come from S. Nicola in Valmanente. It was purchased for the Museo Preistorico of Rome; the rest are all in the museum of Pesaro.

It was, as I have remarked at the beginning of this chapter, the existence in the Pesaro Museum of the stelae found in 1860 and 1866 that first suggested the exploration of the Novilara sites. And it has been the discovery of the Servici examples with the accurate scientific record of all the objects found in them which may now enable us to date the whole series. I have no hesitation in doing this, and am only surprised that the date has been left so long an open question, for the evidence when put together tells its own tale quite unequivocally. The fragment, shown as no. 2 in Plate 24, so precisely resembles the inscribed stone, no. 4 in the same plate, that there can be no doubt the two are contemporary. The date of both inscriptions, therefore, must be at least as late as the eighth century, which is the beginning of the Servici cemetery. And as the spiral patterns on these two stones are identical with the spirals on no. 1 and no. 3, there can be no doubt that these much discussed stelae also are subsequent to 800 B.C. We must finally rule out of court, therefore, the suggestion that they are in any way directly connected with Mycenae or Mycenaean art. Next it is possible to ascertain their lower limit by the objects associated with the Servici stelae, and it becomes evident that the date can be closely fixed by relation to Bolognese series. For the stele found in Servici 42 was associated with a semi-lunar razor, a knife-razor, and four serpentine fibulae. Now a semi-lunar razor can hardly be quite as late as 700, as it disappears before the Arnoaldi period at Bologna. On the other hand, a knife-razor is a positively Arnoaldi form which does not belong to

the Second Benacci. The conjunction of types, therefore, shows the exact moment of transition between the Second Benacci and the Arnoaldi. Allowing a little elasticity, on the principle that objects may be kept for a single lifetime, I should put the date of this Servici stele at 700 or at 650 B.C., and it is clear that the others must be very nearly contemporary with it.

The inscriptions are generally supposed to be in the Sabellian language or dialect. Brizio cites half a dozen others found at various places in Picenum, to which we may add one from Fano in the Museo Preistorico at Rome. The decipherment may be left to the philologists, with the warning, however, that dates fixed by archaeological evidence cannot be modified to suit any theory of epigraphy. As to the alphabet in which the inscriptions are written, it belongs, of course, to the Greek family, but there are several sources from which it might have been introduced. It could have come from the Etruscans, but it could equally well have come from the Greek colonies which just at this moment were being founded in Sicily and Italy. The general choice of fibulae in Novilara at this time is more suggestive of Greek than Italian trade, though it is consistent with either. And the importation of Greek types of weapons is, as we have already noticed, quite a feature of the eighth century. Indeed, some of the Picene fighting-men may have come to look not at all unlike the Greek warriors who may be seen on Dipylon vases equipped with crested helmets, two spears, and an oval shield. Possibly even the sea-fight shown on the Novilara stele may be a fight with sea-rovers from the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

Uninscribed stelae were found in several Novilara graves; the entire group 42–52 in the Servici cemetery was distinguished by them. Four of these graves had one stone apiece, two were marked by two stones apiece, and one —no. 50—had actually as many as four. They were trapezoidal in shape, mortared into the side of the tomb, with the narrow point of the stone downwards.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 24

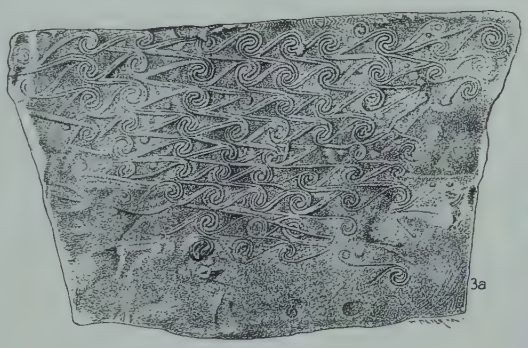
PLATE 24. PESARO. Inscribed stelae. All from Montelius, nos. 1, 3, 4 being taken from his Plate 143, and no. 2 from his Plate 144 (after Brizio in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. v).

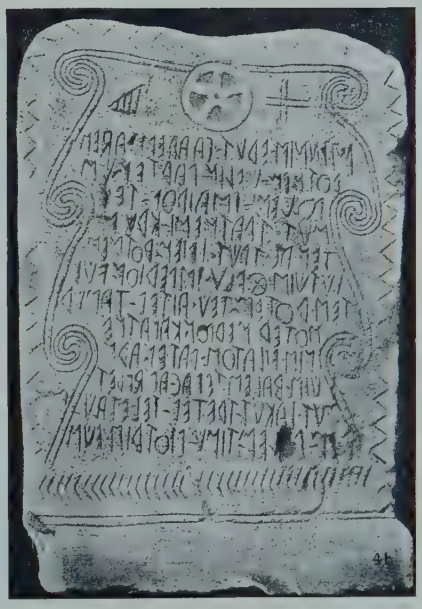
No. 1, stone measuring 1·48 m. by 1·46 m., found in 1866 at Molaroni.

No. 2, fragment of a stone found in Servici cemetery at Novilara.

Nos. 3 a and 3 b, the two sides of a stone measuring 0·96 m.–0·82 m., found in 1860 at S. Nicola in Valmanente.

Nos. 4 a and 4 b, the two sides of a stone 0·64 m. high, found at or near Novilara.





PESARO. Inscribed Stelae from Picene Sites

Ornaments and Pottery in the Novilara Tombs

Ornaments and objects other than weapons were principally obtained, as might be expected, from the graves of the women. They range in date over a full two hundred years in the Servici cemetery, as can be shown by examining two complete and characteristic tomb-groups. In grave no. 1, which is fully illustrated by Brizio, there are two dating objects. The most important is a bronze censer of the pattern shown in no. 11 of Plate 23, which we have already seen to be typical of the eighth century; the other is a leech-fibula with very short catch-point, characteristic of the Second Benacci, and unknown in the Arnoaldi period at Bologna, but surviving at Este a good deal later. The censer by itself may be taken as sufficient to establish the chronology, since it is at any rate not contradicted by the nine little fibulae all of the same leech type. Associated in the same grave were three of the common amber-threaded fibulae, like no. 3 of Plate 25, a bronze distaff, a large bronze pin with bone head and cylinders of bone upon it, an iron adze (Montelius, Plate 147, no. 5), two earrings of flat amber discs, a necklace made of trapezoidal and lozenge-shaped pieces of bone (Montelius, Plate 144, no. 12), a number of small coloured glass beads, and a narrow bronze band ornamented along the edge with little bosses. Three other objects deserve special notice. The first is one of those ornaments made of large concentric rings of iron which will be observed again in grave 5. The second is a girdle of mail made of tiny bronze rings, to which fragments of cloth and glass beads still adhered. The third is a girdle of mail made of much larger bronze rings, each a centimetre in diameter, which probably looked very much like no. 15 in Plate 25. Underneath this bronze chain-work were remains of cloth covered with glass beads arranged in a pattern. Of the quite unimportant pottery one piece resembles that figured by Montelius in his Plate 150, no. 7.

The girdles of mail worn by the women are a very interesting and individual product of the Picene territory. They were found in no less than thirteen of the Servici and in seven of the later Molaroni graves, so that they evidently formed part of the regular standard dress. Exactly how they were fastened is not clear, as no buckles were found with them. The bronze rings are not linked together but sewn with flax, making a band from three to four centimetres high, at the bottom of which is a fringe of little bronze pendants.

Two hundred years later than grave no. 1 must be the Servici grave no. 5, of which the most important contents are given in nos. 1–6 of Plate 25. There the dating object is the fibula no. 5, a rhomboidal boat-shape with side studs,

and with a very long catch-point ending in a knob. This, of which there were two examples, may be almost paralleled from the late Second and Early Third period at Este (cf. Plates 6, 7), while a little plain boat-fibula with long shank is actually identical (cf. Plate 7, no. 9) with one from the Benvenuti tomb at Este. It seems to follow that grave no. 5 must be of the sixth century, in which case it is one of the latest on the whole site. Nevertheless, one or two objects in it are almost identical with those from grave no. 1, e. g. the necklace made of lozenge-shaped pieces of bone, and the large ornament (Montelius, Plate 144, no. 16) formed of concentric iron hoops, which seems to have been worn on the chest or neck. Quite unlike anything in the earlier grave, however, is the great chatelaine shown as no. 6 in Plate 25, in which the birds' heads on the supporting plaques should be particularly noticed.[1]

Another tomb of comparatively advanced date, but belonging rather to the seventh than the sixth century, is no. 4, which contained a rhomboidal boat-fibula with long shank and a broken fibula with willow-leaf back ornamented with spiral circles. Fragments of one of the chain-girdles made of very small links were found in it, a pair of bronze tweezers, a bronze object with perforated spherical head which was probably a nail-cleaner (Montelius, Plate 148, no. 9), a spiral bronze bracelet of several turns, an iron bracelet, a small bracelet of cylindrical lead wire, and an ear-cleaner of bronze (no. 7 in Plate 25), terminating in the figure of a monkey.

Toilet-instruments, whether for cleaning nails or ears, are extraordinarily common at Novilara. From the Servici grave no. 58 came the finest specimen of all, shown as no. 8 in Plate 25. At the top is a female figure, presumably Aphrodite, holding an apple in either hand. Against each leg is a dove, and on each side of the ring for suspension is a dove. This is the exact counterpart of a specimen found by Gozzadini in the cemetery of Villanova (cf. Montelius, Plate 91, no. 1). Small pendants in human form were sometimes attached to the chatelaines. One may be seen in no. 6 of Plate 25, but a finer example is the nude figure of bronze shown as no. 16 in the same plate. This comes from Servici 83, which contained several Etruscan importations, viz. the fragments of a bronze ribbed cist, the bronze dish shown as no. 20 in Plate 25, and a bronze bowl with ribbon handle, all of which may be dated as seventh century, or possibly late eighth.

Somewhat similar in style is another bronze figurine illustrated in Montelius, Plate 148, no. 32. It comes from Servici grave 85, which is about the same date as 83. In it there were two girdles of chain mail, two long spiral bronze armlets

[1] For an inventory of the remaining objects in this grave, which need no special comment, see col. 709 of the text of Montelius.

of sixteen turns, a bronze bowl, and various small pendants, besides small navicella fibulae and amber-threaded fibulae.

Two small Egyptian glazed figures were found with a rhomboidal boat-fibula in Servici grave 80.[1]

One of the most interesting objects in Plate 25, viz. no. 9, comes not from the Servici cemetery, but from no. 135 in the Molaroni. This is a bronze plaque with a bird's head at each side and ten long pendent chains. It was apparently worn suspended from the waist by the ring at the top. None of the fibulae in the grave were sufficiently characterized for exact dating, but the character of the entire cemetery forbids us to classify it as later than eighth century. Three other examples of such ornaments were found, viz. in graves 36 and 78 of the Molaroni and in 92 of the Servici site. We shall see from Ascoli and Ancona that they are found also in other Picene cemeteries of later date.

The love which the Novilarans evince for chain-work of all kinds cannot fail to remind us of the constant use of chain ornaments by the Comacines. And again, the employment of little double spirals (Montelius, Plate 147, no. 18) points to the same agreement in taste. There is probably much more than mere accident in these coincidences, as I shall have occasion to remark again in a later section.

Finally, before leaving the subject of Novilara, we must not fail to notice the very occasional specimens of imported pottery. The ordinary native pottery of the site is quite uninteresting and has no importance. In the Molaroni cemetery it is hand-made, of a greyish colour, and ill baked, with a very small variety of forms; in the Servici cemetery it is very little better, though a little finer in its finish. But there was one instance in the Molaroni cemetery and three in the Servici of an obviously imported ware, made of yellowish clay and decorated with bands and lines in black or in red. It may be significant that one of these painted jars is found in one of the only two cremation graves (no. 29) which occurred on the entire site. It is shown by Montelius in his Plate 150, no. 1. The decoration of the two-handled crater, which I illustrate in no. 19 of Plate 25, shows a good deal of general resemblance to some of the north Apulian types, but cannot be precisely matched amongst them, though it is evidently related to the Daunian school.[2]

[1] For an inventory of the contents of 80, see col. 718 of the text of Montelius.

[2] Mayer, *Apulien*, p. 104, compares it with certain specimens from Ruvo; see especially his Plate VI, nos. 2, 3.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 25

PLATE 25. NOVILARA. Ornaments and other objects typical of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. Selected and rearranged from Montelius, Plates 144–50 (Brizio in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. v).

No. 1, pottery vase in form of animal. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 2, spiral of thin bronze. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

No. 3, amber threaded on bronze fibula. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 4, bronze spiral ring. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

No. 5, bronze fibula. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 6, bronze chatelaine with pendent implements. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{2}{7}$.

No. 7, bronze ear-cleaning implement. Servici 4. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 8, bronze toilet implement with figurine of Aphrodite. Servici 58. Scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 9, bronze pendant with chains. Molaroni 135. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 10, bronze pin with discs and head of bone. Servici 5. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 11, bronze pin with head of bone. Servici 1. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Nos. 12 and 13, bronze girdle. Servici 60. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 14, bronze fibula with double pin. Servici 49. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

No. 15, bronze girdle of chain-work. Servici 10. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

No. 16, bronze figurine used as pendant. Servici 83. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 17, bronze fibula. Molaroni 133. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

No. 18, bronze ribbed cist. Servici 3. Scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 19, painted pottery jar of Apulian manufacture. Servici 50. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 20, bronze dish with repoussé ornament. Servici 83. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

NOVILARA. Ornaments and Objects of the Eighth to Sixth Centuries

Ancona Museum. The Principal Cemeteries

From the time that Brizio wrote his memoir on Novilara until the present day no account has ever been published of any important site in Picenum. But for more than fifteen years excavations have been in progress, which have filled the Ancona Museum with an immense quantity of the most valuable and important material. This has remained quite unknown to the scientific world, and the only hint of its character has been given by a loosely written little popular 'Guide' to the contents of the Museum.[1] This has almost no scientific value, but I shall be obliged to refer to it on account of the illustrations for which at present it is impossible to offer any substitute. It is hoped that a full and adequate record will shortly be published by official authority, but until this happens I can do no more than give a sketch in general outline of one of the most important sections of Iron Age archaeology in Italy.

Chronologically, the Ancona collections are almost all later than Novilara. The very rich and important site of Belmonte Piceno which has furnished so large a proportion of the contents of the museum scarcely begins before 650 B.C.; and the immense majority of all the specimens from this, as well as from the other cemeteries in the region of Ancona, belong to the sixth and fifth centuries. There are, indeed, only three sites which have yielded any appreciable quantity of objects contemporary with the earlier stages of Novilara. These are the city of Ancona itself, S. Elpidio, and Fermo, at each of which a few graves have been found which are sufficiently interesting for particular notice. Ancona and S. Elpidio certainly begin before the tenth century and last on into the eighth, while a few graves at Fermo are closely comparable with the Second Benacci period amongst the Villanovans.

The cemetery which is named Cardeto must have occupied a considerable area under the present city of Ancona. It was first discovered in 1902 as a result of laying the foundations for a building close to the Ospedale Civile. On this occasion ten graves were found, of which Brizio wrote an account in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1902 (pp. 437–44). In 1908 another small series of graves was discovered beneath the Ospedale Umberto I,[2] and in 1910 yet another group was found in the same neighbourhood. As the excavations were not made under scientific control the results are incomplete; but they are important as demonstrating the existence of a very archaic cemetery, which unfortunately can never be systematically explored, as it lies beneath a number of buildings in the modern town. Of the objects obtained from it the most valuable are

[1] *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Ancona*, by I. Dall' Osso, Ancona, 1915.
[2] Cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1910, p. 334.

two long antennae-swords of bronze and one shorter sword of the same type. These must be as early as the eighth or ninth century, and some leaf-shaped bronze spear-heads are probably no less ancient. But a long straight-bladed iron sword, and an iron dagger with triangular blade and hilt ending in a knob, must be quite a century later, contemporary with the Novilara weapons shown in Plate 23. Among the personal ornaments found in the graves of women are two or three fibulae of the earliest Iron Age types, notably a disc-fibula with bow-shaped body, and one of the type illustrated here as Fig. 34, from a specimen which was actually found at Monteroberto.[1]

At S. Elpidio, which is a station on the railway a short distance north of Fermo, a small group of tombs was excavated in 1917. The objects from them are distinctly 'archaic' in character, the fibulae being all of the early types with very short catch-points or with discs instead of catch-points. There are no less than nine or ten different forms of fibulae; the thickened bow or incipient sanguisuga occurs several times; then there are three disc-fibulae, of which one has a willow-leaf body and the other two have leech-shaped bodies; the spectacle fibula occurs three times, the fully rounded boat-fibula and the full-bodied leech are each found once; and besides these there are one or two local peculiarities of type. Two semi-lunar razors were found, an iron dagger of the Verucchio pattern like Fig. 33, and a bronze pectoral of which the two ends were shaped into birds' heads very much like examples found at Cardeto and Monteroberto (cf. Montelius, col. 761, Fig. a).

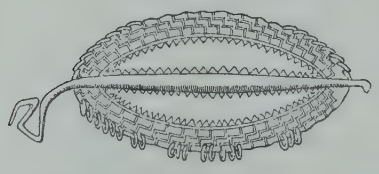


Fig. 34. Bronze fibula. From *Not. Scavi*, 1880, tav. ix. Scale ½.

At Fermo irregular excavations made in 1908 led to the discovery of some tombs, from which the majority of objects passed into the museum of Ancona;[2] and further excavations in 1911 added a few more to the number. There were evidently two cemeteries, of which one belongs to the fifth century, but the other, represented by fifteen graves in the museum, is much earlier and of very peculiar character.[3] Unlike the other Picene cemeteries described up to this point, it shows the strongest Villanovan influence, derived, however, rather from the Etrurian than from the Bolognese branch.

Thus in one grave there was a fine bronze helmet of that exclusively Etrurian form which occurred at Poggio dell' Impiccato and at Corneto.[4] In another there was a lozenge-shaped girdle of sheet bronze decorated with studs

[1] For the account of Monteroberto, see *Not. Scavi*, 1880, pp. 343–8.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1908, pp. 252–61.

[3] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, pp. 96–100.

[4] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plates 12, 14.

in repoussé, an object quite strange to the Picenes and wholly unknown at Novilara, where, as we have seen, the girdles were of a perfectly different kind.[1] It is an extremely familiar form amongst the Villanovans, and equally common amongst the northern and the southern divisions of that people. Again, in other graves at Fermo there were Villanovan urns of the most typical and characteristic form, used of course not as ossuaries but as water-jars, for the Picenes never cremated, but quite unmistakable in their affiliation. These jars are covered with geometrical patterns in the style of the Second Benacci period and are sometimes also ornamented with bronze studs.[2]

On the other hand, the fibulae and some of the ornaments at Fermo are markedly Picene. Almost every grave contained pendants of the branched chain-work which is so definitely characteristic of the Adriatic coast; while the fibulae, several of which have the multifid body so peculiar to the same region, are no less positively native. The date of these Fermo graves is given by the better-known fibulae of familiar types, such as the well-rounded boat with short catch-point. On the evidence of these the cemetery may be assigned to the eighth century.

A few graves from other sites near Ancona may be assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries. Cupra and Grottamare no doubt begin as early as this, though the bulk of their contents is later; but the very large and important cemetery of Belmonte-Piceno contains nothing whatsoever earlier than 650 B. C.[3] It is most important that this should be clearly understood, as it means that a whole series of most misleading comparisons which have been made with Mycenaean Greece must be entirely rejected. We shall see that Belmonte has indeed the strongest possible Greek connexions and affinities, but the art with which it is to be compared is not the Mycenaean but the Ionic art of the sixth and fifth centuries. To establish the true chronology of Belmonte it is only necessary to study the fibulae, of which I show a representative series in Plate 26. It is at once evident that not only are all archaic types of any kind entirely absent, but even the eighth- or seventh-century serpentine fibulae of Novilara are unknown at Belmonte. On the other hand Certosan forms, and variants on the Certosan, are numerically preponderant over any others, and none of the types in Plate 26 are earlier than sixth century. The existence of some tombs of the seventh century is indicated by occasional objects, such as a proto-Corinthian balsamary in tomb 27; and a certain amount of pottery, painted in imitation of Greek models with red lines on a light ground, may be seventh century rather than

[1] Rilli's collection in the Ancona museum contains girdles of Villanovan type. No details as to their provenance are yet known; presumably they are from near Numana.

[2] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 104.

[3] Belmonte is in the province of Ascoli, district of Fermo, near Colle a Lete.

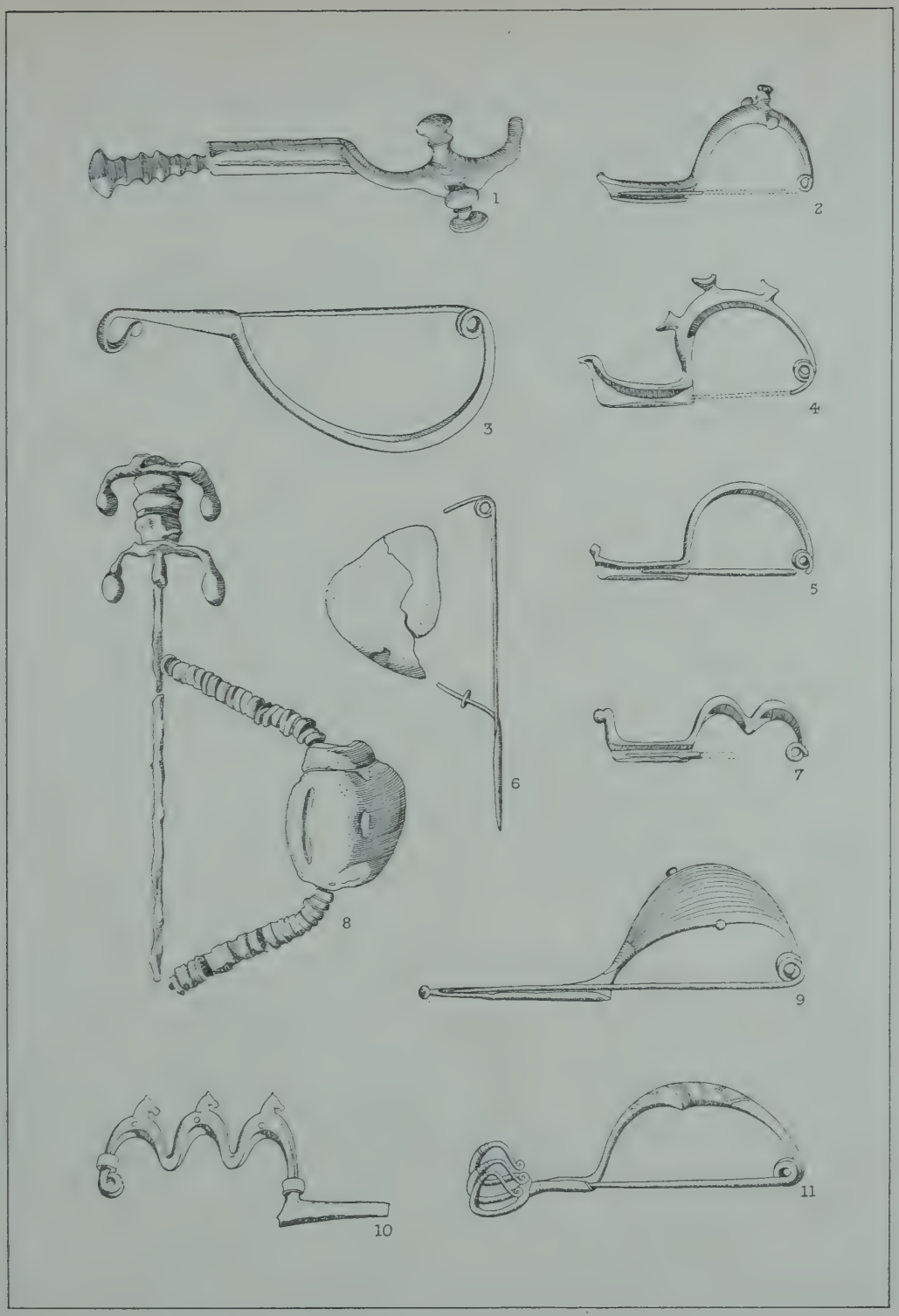
sixth. But tomb 38 contained three painted Greek vases, of which the finest is a typical example of the red-figured style of the mid-fifth century.[1] The earliest graves, then, at Belmonte are about 650 B.C., and the cemetery continues down to at least 450 B.C.

Of the same period as Belmonte, and sharing in its general character, but with certain local differences and without the same richness of imported objects, are several other Picene sites represented in the Ancona Museum. Montegiorgio, with its numerous short-shanked leech-fibulae, certainly begins earlier, but has numerous fibulae and other objects of the fifth as well as of the sixth century; and the same may be said of Monterubbiano. Rapagnano, with its Ionicizing shield-bosses, of which one is shown in Plate 29, evidently belongs to the sixth and fifth centuries. Penna S. Giovanni is principally of the Certosan period, and so is Torre di Palme. The cemeteries of Villalfonsina, S. Ginnesio, and Ripatransone are fifth century. All these are short series. Cupra and Grottamare have a larger range in time, and will ultimately perhaps furnish the most important continuous sequences in Picenum, but the collection from them as at present exhibited is almost confined to the sixth and fifth centuries. Numana seems to contain all periods, but can hardly be discussed until the collection has been arranged and edited.

[1] Illustrated in Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 133.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 26

PLATE 26. ANCONA. A series of fibulae to show the types which were found in the cemetery of Belmonte. Scale of nos. 1–5 and of no. 7 is $\frac{7}{10}$; of nos. 6 and 8 is $\frac{1}{6}$; of nos. 9, 10, 11 is a little larger than $\frac{1}{3}$. From original drawings made by R. A. Cordingley in the museum of Ancona. The actual specimen shown as no. 4 is taken from Cupra, as, though it is frequent at Belmonte, all the examples were somewhat broken.



ANCONA. Fibulae from the Cemetery of Belmonte

Ascoli Museum—Ornaments which illustrate the Ancona Series

From the complex of these several sites I shall attempt to give a brief sketch of the principal characteristics of Picene civilization in the sixth and fifth centuries. My pictorial illustrations are taken mainly from the little museum of the old town of Ascoli, where there is quite a valuable series of antiquities obtained from the hills along the Tronto. These are arranged according to their character and not in any topographical order, as the finds have been sporadic and no systematic excavations have been made in the region. The collection at Ascoli ranges from the Neolithic to the late Iron Age, and contains many types which recur at Belmonte and other unpublished sites in the Ancona Museum.

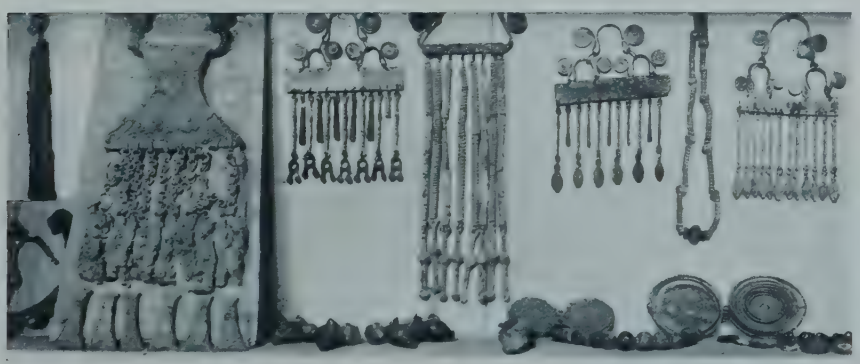
The most interesting objects of the fifth and sixth centuries in Ascoli are the women's ornaments, torques, necklaces, pectorals, and pendants of every kind which are shown in Plates 27 and 28. These are not unlike some of the products of the later graves at Novilara, e.g. nos. 6 and 9 in Plate 25, but are generally more elaborate. The metal used is almost invariably bronze; iron is only very occasionally employed in ornamental pieces. The variety in the shapes of the pendants is very considerable; one of the principal favourites is the imitation of the cypraea shell, of which natural examples are also used. An open hand is also a frequent form of amulet, while model axes or arrows occur several times. The oblong plaque from which pendants are suspended is often shaped at each end into the form of a bird's head. Sometimes, instead of being a plain oblong, the plaque for suspension is fashioned in the schematic imitation of a human body with outstretched arms, as in the central and lowest figures of Plate 27 and no. 2 of Plate 28. A double spiral of bronze wire is the favourite form of suspension, and may be seen in many of the subjects in Plate 27. There is a very striking resemblance of general character in all this work to the ornaments of the Comacines, as shown in Plates 15 and 18. In particular the examples from Golasecca in the museum of Torino so closely resemble those of Ascoli that it is impossible not to suppose them to have been derived from a common origin. It is improbable that the poor settlers in distant Lombardy would have originated this style for themselves, and so I think that we must infer the existence of a considerable trade between Picenum and the Comacines; the latter, possibly, received their payment as forwarding agents to Switzerland in the form of bronze objects manufactured on the Adriatic coast.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 27, 28

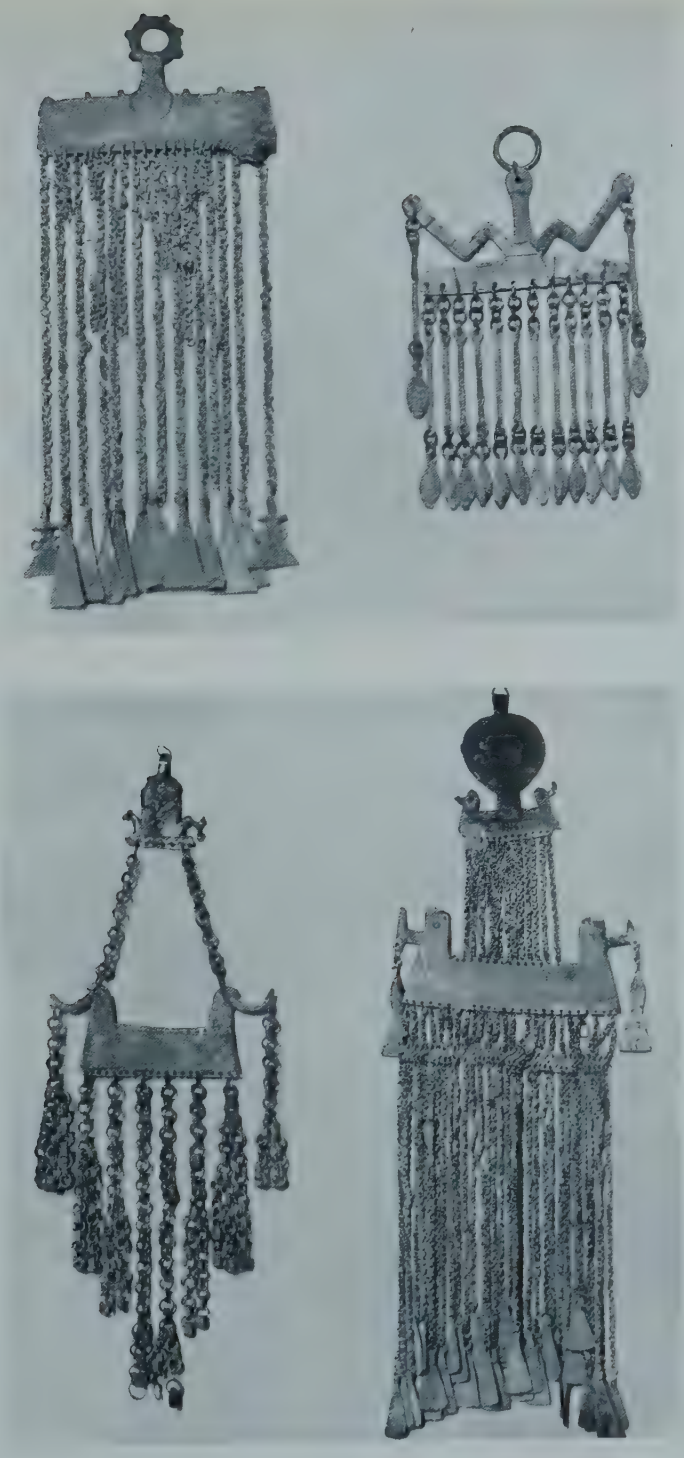
PLATE 27. ASCOLI. Bronze pendants, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments from the hills along the valley of the Tronto, photographed in the museum of Ascoli. The various forms of amulets should be remarked, e. g. an open hand, cypraea shells, model axes, human figurines. Equally characteristic is the constant use of spiral finials and of chain-work with dangles. Many of these ornaments resemble those found among the Comacines.

PLATE 28. ASCOLI. Four large pendent ornaments of bronze from the hills along the Tronto, photographed in the museum of Ascoli. The schematic human form with outstretched arms, as seen in no. 2, occurs in several other examples, but even more characteristic of Picene work are nos. 3 and 4, with their bird's-head finials. These also should be compared with Comacine ornaments.

Examples very similar to those illustrated in Plates 27, 28 were found on several of the sites represented in the museum of Ancona, especially in the cemetery between Grottamare and Cupramarittima.



ASCOLI. Bronze Pendants and Necklaces



ASCOLI. Bronze Pendants of Chain-work

Many of these ornaments from the Ascoli collection may be closely matched in the Ancona Museum, especially by examples found in the cemetery between Grottamare and Cupra-marittima, which was peculiarly rich in chatelaines and pendants.[1] They are evidently quite characteristic of any site of the period. Similarly, the torques or circlets worn round the neck occur not only in the valley of the Tronto but all along the coast. These are perhaps the most individual and peculiar articles of the Picene dress, found in almost every woman's grave; they are unknown west of the Apennines, except, significantly enough, among the Comacines.

In its simplest form the torque is a cylindrical bronze wire, smooth or twisted, only a few millimetres in diameter and bent back to form a hook at each end. Fig. 35 shows an example drawn by Montelius from the museum at Ascoli, to which a very characteristic bronze pectoral is attached.

In its next stage the wire becomes a substantial solid band, still circular in section, but slightly tapering at the two ends, which are bent back but are not decorated. On torques of this pattern are sometimes hung a number of rings of ribbon bronze about the diameter of large finger rings, or again there may be a series of bronze discs or bronze imitations of the cypraea shell. At Belmonte the torque becomes a more elaborate ornament, the ends of which are formed into a cone, as may be seen in Fig. 36.

FIG. 35. Bronze torque with pendant in Ascoli museum. From Montelius, Plate 160. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

In one or two tombs of exceptional wealth at Belmonte the torque bears figures of animals or men cast in the round and made in one piece with it; the finest example of this kind is from tomb 48, in which the finials of the torque are made in the form of sea-horses.[2]

Next to the pectorals and torques we may consider the necklaces, which are very varied both in form and material. Sometimes they are composed of bronze in the form of thin rings or of large spherical beads; very often they are made of coloured glass beads, the numerous varieties of which would alone deserve a long description. In the wealthier graves, however, especially at Belmonte, the necklaces are generally of amber, of which there is the most extraordinary and prodigal abundance. The quantity of amber in these tombs

[1] See illustrations in Dall' Osso, *Guida*, pp. 186, 187.

[2] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, pp. 40 and 52.

is almost incredible, and the large pieces are carved into every shape and design. There are necklaces made of oblong plaques fully two inches long combined with spherical bullae, round discs, and enormous lozenge-shaped shoulder pieces. With this gaudy parure on the neck and breast were worn bronze fibulae four or five inches long, supporting semicircular pieces of amber half the size of a man's fist.

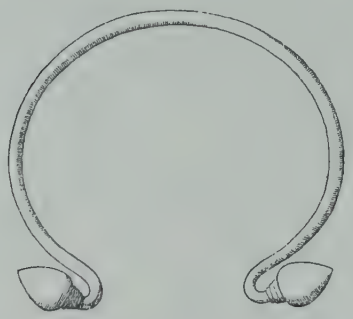


Fig. 36. Bronze torque from Belmonte. After *Not. Scavi*, 1901, p. 231. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

Strings of natural sea-shells (cypraea) are often alternated or combined with those of amber, and in some cases the amber is carved into the forms of shells, but the finest examples of carving are in the form of animals. Masterpieces of this style are to be seen from the so-called 'Tombs of the Amazons' in the Belmonte cemetery, in which there are large pieces of amber carved with figures of a lion devouring an antelope, and a lion devouring a sheep.[1]

Earrings in the sixth and fifth centuries generally consisted of a perforated amber disc threaded on a bronze wire, exactly like the earrings used by the Comacines. Bracelets at Belmonte are of bronze, and usually made with one overlapping strand, but some are solid rings. At Cupra, however, there are spiral bracelets of several turns, as well as penannular forms, of which the ends terminate in knobs. Apparently we must consider as bracelets some heavy bronze circles of considerable diameter, intersected with projecting knobs, as shown in Fig. 37, which seem singularly inconvenient for wearing. But more inconvenient and uncomfortable even than these great armlets must have been long chains composed of double-bodied figures of oxen cast in bronze. If it were not for the statement of the excavators, who found these placed as if they were worn at the waist, we might have supposed them to be the actual trappings of oxen, on the analogy of the horse-bits ornamented with little figures of horses so common at Bologna. Here in Picenum very particular attention seems to

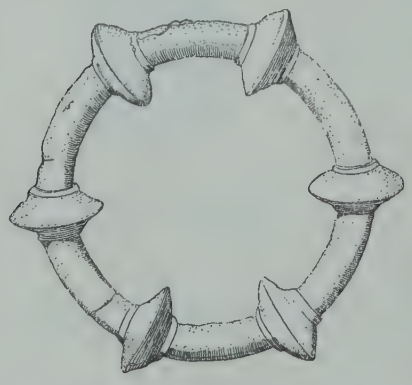


Fig. 37. Bronze circlet with knobs. From Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 190.

[1] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 48.

have been given the oxen and cattle, perhaps in connexion with some religious cult ; in a great deal of the local pottery the handles are formed in imitation of cow's horns (see Plate 31).

Weapons and Bronze work in Ancona Museum

From the ornaments of the women we may pass to the equipment of the men, who had very little in the way of adornment. They wore apparently a woollen tunic, of which the remains have sometimes been found, fastened together with a large number of fibulae. Almost every man carried weapons, and it is interesting to compare these with the weapons of Novilara. An exact review of the types of iron swords and daggers is not easy to make on account of the rust which has corroded so many of the outlines. Some of the daggers are certainly of the Novilara types shown in nos. 1–6 of Plate 23. But I have not anywhere detected the characteristic Novilaran sword given as no. 8 in that plate, which seems to have been replaced by a much longer and heavier type with a straight hilt. New weapons such as iron maces with large round heads have come into use, and double-headed iron battle-axes. Spear-heads are very large and of several different shapes, varying from a long tapering blade to a short leaf-head. In the defensive armour the developments and changes are still more noticeable. Both the patterns of helmet seen as nos. 10 and 13 of Plate 23 are still found, but the regular Picene shrapnel-helmet made of several plates (no. 13) is very often replaced by a similar form with narrower brim beaten out of a single plate. And the Corinthian helmet, Fig. 38, is now extremely popular. This is of course a Greek pattern, probably imported from the Greek colonies, though the Etruscans had already begun to use it before the Picenes.[1]

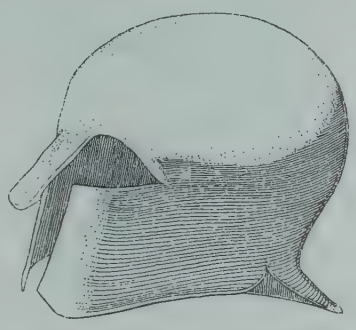


Fig. 38. Helmet of Corinthian type. From Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 53.

Of shields the only surviving record is to be seen in a pair of bosses from Rapagnano, superbly decorated in Ionic style, with repoussé figures in strong relief. One of them shows two foot-soldiers armed with daggers or short swords, locked in a mortal struggle ; they wear different helmets, the one of Corinthian, the other of native Picene pattern. On the other, shown in Plate 29, there are two mounted horsemen armed with spears, below whom is a wounded enemy on the ground grasping a round shield and a mace.

[1] An instructive series of helmets from Numana may be seen in Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 147.

The existence of cuirasses is suggested by a large object found in one of the finest Belmonte tombs, which consists of two bronze discs united by a bronze belt.[1]

Bronze greaves are frequent. The most remarkable are the two pairs found in the same tomb as the cuirass just mentioned. These are splendidly decorated in relief with a representation of Herakles slaying the Nemean lion.[1]

Chariots, which were not found at Novilara, occur several times at Belmonte. It is surmised that they were of the Greek type, and a restoration from the numerous fragments found in one important tomb may be seen in the Ancona Museum.[2] The proportion of original material in the restoration is about the same as the ratio of Sir John Falstaff's bread to his wine; but it may be admitted that the chariot wheels were of iron, and the principal parts of the car with its fittings were of bronze.

Fig. 39. Bronze situla from Cupramarittima. From Montelius, Plate 161. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

In the same tomb which contained the remains of this chariot were some of the finest specimens of bronze work found at Belmonte. Not only the cuirass and the greaves already mentioned, but also a number of bronze vessels were buried with this notable man. Even more important than the greaves with their representation of Herakles are two open-work designs representing warriors holding a pair of horses.[3] It is supposed that they formed the handles of a great bronze vessel of unknown shape. An extremely close parallel is furnished by a pair of handles which are preserved without any history or note of provenance in the museum of Pesaro. These I illustrate in Plate 30 as some of the most interesting examples of the sixth-century Ionic work, which was beginning to find its way to the Picene sites, no doubt by way of Apulia. In the museum of Bologna there is another handle repeating almost the same design of the horse-tamer that is shown in the lower half of Plate 30. An even finer Ionic piece of the same period is the bronze bowl and stand found at Amandola, now in the museum at Ancona.[4]

By way of contrast to these may be shown a typical situla of the same date, evidently made by native workmen (Fig. 39). In this the primitive technique and the schematic figures are curiously unlike the fresh naturalism of the Greek work. This dice-box form seems to be a particular favourite with the bronze-workers in Picenum, and is represented by numerous specimens in the Ancona Museum.

[1] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 121.
[2] Illustrated in ibid., p. 37.
[3] Ibid., p. 59.
[4] Illustrated in ibid., p. 92.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 29, 30

PLATE 29. ANCONA. Bronze shield-boss found at Rapagnano. It shows two warriors on horseback wearing crested helmets. One of them is armed with a spear which he brandishes over a fallen enemy armed with a dagger. Ionic art of the sixth century B.C. Photograph taken in Ancona Museum. Diameter about 30 cm.

PLATE 30. PESARO. Two openwork bronze handles of some large vessel which has perished. The upper example shows two warriors on foot contending over the body of a third, who is prostrate. The lower scene shows a horse-tamer, perhaps Herakles, with a horse at each hand and a couchant lion on each shoulder; a similar example from Belmonte is in the museum at Ancona, and another in the museum of Bologna. Ionic art of the sixth century B.C. Photograph taken in the Museo Oliveriano at Pesaro.

ANCONA. Bronze Disc from Rapagnano

PESARO. Bronze Handles of a Censer

An object equally frequent at Belmonte and at Cupra is a high bronze jug of very graceful form which is a well-known Greek type of the sixth century. In the tomb of the chariot, which has been several times mentioned, there is a splendid example in which the handle is formed into the figure of a lion. The same tomb contains a very fine series of other vessels of hammered bronze, including basins of great diameter and a spherical-bodied vase resembling some of the Etruscan types found at Vetulonia.[1]

In some of the wealthier Belmonte tombs are beautiful little examples of Greek ivory carving,[2] among the finest of which are the winged statuettes perhaps representing a goddess.

Pottery in Museums of Ancona and Ascoli

The pottery on all these sites is of several classes. I have already mentioned the proto-Corinthian and the red-figured Attic, which may have been derived either from Apulia or from Etruscan sources. Direct evidence of trade with Apulia is furnished by one series of vases which are absolutely distinctive of that region, and will be the subject of more detailed treatment in a later chapter. These are such types as are figured by Dall' Osso on p. 221 of his *Guida*, where there is a crater of the same style as no. 19 in Plate 25.[3]

Apart from such obvious importations as the Attic and Apulian specimens, the pottery of Belmonte and kindred sites consists principally of a black bucchero, native-made in many cases, but sometimes directly imitating the contemporary Etruscan fabric. In some of the finer tombs there are vases which closely resemble the Chiusi bucchero of the sixth century; but there is also a good deal which affects purely local forms. Among these the curious and distinctive Picene handles, imitating the horns of a cow, are particularly to be remarked. In Plate 31 is shown a series of pottery from the museum of Ascoli,[4] in which the finer fabrics are not represented. The vases and bowls in this plate are of a rather rough native bucchero, normally black, but occasionally over-burned to red, as in the central specimen of the third shelf and the central specimen of the fourth. Most of this ware is hand-made, but for some of the rather finer pieces the wheel has been used. The development of the peculiar Picene handle can be clearly traced from the complete figure of a cow in the third shelf, through the double-bodied cows in the top shelf, to a plain handle in which the animal character of the original has been almost lost.

The interest of the museum of Ancona does not by any means end with

[1] Dall' Osso, *Guida*, p. 175.
[2] Ibid., pp. 68, 81.
[3] Illustrated later as my fig. 78.
[4] Other examples may be seen in Montelius, Plate 162, and in Dall' Osso, *Guida*, pp. 91, 135, 141.

the fifth century, though I do not propose to describe anything after that date. To the fourth century belong certain graves excavated by Brizio at Numana,[1] which contained painted Greek vases of the latest South Italian schools. But the civilization of the fourth century is far more genuinely represented by the magnificent work in bronze and gold found in the tombs of the Senonian Gauls, of which there is a very rich display. These alone deserve an entire volume of illustration and description, though they belong less to Italy than to the late Greek art which is found everywhere from the Black Sea to the western Mediterranean.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1891, pp. 115–18, 149–55, 193–6. Numana is an important region, from which there is a very fine private collection, that of Dr. Rilli, in the Ancona museum. This collection covers the entire chronological range from the eighth century downwards, but until its contents have been properly edited in accordance with notes left by the testator, it would be dangerous to found arguments upon it. For some remarks and illustrations, see Dall' Osso, *Guida*, pp. 129–55.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 31

PLATE 31. ASCOLI. A series of typical country pottery without any imported specimens, from sites along the Tronto. The development of the curious curved handles from the figure of a pair of cows joined together should be observed. All the specimens in this plate are of rather coarse black bucchero, except one or two of the same fabric which are red.

Photograph taken in the museum of Ascoli.

ASCOLI. Typical Picene Pottery

Teramo and Atri

Belmonte and the other sites which are represented in the museum of Ancona are all situated between Ancona itself and the little river Tronto on which Ascoli is placed. South of this the two sites of Teramo and Atri, although far less important, are sufficiently interesting for a brief notice. At Teramo a few tombs were accidentally found in 1905, upon which some remarks were written in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of that year (pp. 267–9). The burials were not contracted but extended at full length; a sword of Novilaran type, some bronze torques, and a little pottery were the only objects of interest.

Of Atri we have more details. Here on the site of Petrara Brizio excavated some forty tombs in 1900, and wrote an illustrated account [1] on which Montelius has based his Plate 158 and accompanying text. The objects obtained from Petrara are in the museum of Bologna. In one not very important respect the graves differ from those of Belmonte, the bodies being extended at full length instead of partially flexed or contracted. The small collection of objects from Atri bears a fairly close generic resemblance to those which have been noted on other Picene sites of the fifth and sixth centuries; the fibulae are the same, the daggers and spears are of familiar patterns, and so are the few and rather poor ornaments. Only one novelty is worth remarking, the long iron sword with straight hilt shown as no. 15 in Montelius's plate, which has a pommel decorated with a slight openwork design.

Very few sites have been explored in the interior of Picenum, so that as yet our knowledge is only fragmentary except for the settlements near the coast. At Fabriano a tumulus has been opened which shows strong Etruscan influence at about 670 B.C. It contained a fine chariot and an interesting series of pottery and ornaments, including one of those comb-shaped buckles which were found at Falerii and at Marsiliana [2] as well as in the Regolini-Galassi tomb of Caere and the Artiaco tomb at Cumae.[3] The contents of this tumulus, as yet unpublished, fill an entire room in the museum of Ancona. This discovery is perhaps a warning against assuming too hastily that it was a quite uniform civilization which extended all the way from the Adriatic to the borders of the Villanovans. Umbria, of which the early archaeology is still in its infancy, may have much to teach in future years.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1901, p. 90, and 1902, p. 229. Cf. *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. vi, pp. 158, 159.

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 35 and p. 200; Montelius, Plate 309, no. 20.

[3] See below, p. 171.

The Cemeteries of Terni—the Two Races

It was in Umbria, on the extreme western margin of what is shown in Plate 1 as Picene territory, that an important settlement existed from the very beginning of the Iron Age. Terni, famous for its waterfalls, is a place at which there were extensive cemeteries, which have been completely devastated by the establishment of the great steel works. Scientific excavations, undertaken by the Government at too late a stage, had to be restricted to a very small fraction of the whole area; and though the results are extremely interesting, yet any wide generalizations from them are dangerous, because of the enormous amount that necessarily and inevitably remains unknown.[1] There were cremation burials and inhumations; a score of the former and over two hundred of the latter were methodically and scientifically noted, but many hundreds were destroyed without inspection or observation; so that it is necessary to use even greater caution than usual in employing the argument *ex silentio*. It is evident that Terni was a place at which both Picenes and Villanovans were settled, but as to their relations or numerical ratio to one another it is not easy to draw conclusions.

Von Duhn describes the people of Terni as 'Umbrians', and others may be inclined to agree with him. The nomenclature may be correct, but it must be remembered that the ethnical identity and the geographical location of the Umbrians at this very early period are quite unknown. For my own part I should prefer to avoid a term which is so charged with all the prejudice adhering to long controversies. Without any attempt to dogmatize as to exact racial origin or precise tribal name, I should suggest that an inhuming people which lived on the edge of Picene territory and owed a great deal of its culture to the Adriatic coast might reasonably be called 'Picene', at any rate until some closer connexion with another race can be proved.

If ever the archaeology of Umbria should emerge into a distinct individuality, it might become necessary to recognize a new group and to term it 'Umbrian'; but that time has not yet arrived.

That the Villanovan settlement at Terni goes back to the First Benacci period seems evident;[2] but it does not antedate the inhumation cemeteries, which are some of the very oldest in the country. The types of fibulae from inhumation graves shown in Plate 32 are identical with those found on such sites as Bismantova and Pianello, and in the pre-Benacci graves of the Alban hills. It follows that the inhuming people were established at Terni by the

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1907, pp. 595–645; 1914, pp. 1–68; 1916, pp. 191–226. These are epitomized by von Duhn in his *Italische Gräberkunde*, i, pp. 439–51.

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 68.

eleventh century, which is as early as any date that has been found for them on the Adriatic seaboard. They may even have been settled there from still more remote days, inasmuch as a neolithic village has been found at Terni, though the intermediate link in the Bronze Age has not yet been discovered.

For some generations Villanovans and Picenes occupied the same area together in this border town, and probably lived side by side on quite amicable terms, just as they lived at Rome, where both races are found buried in the same early cemetery in the Forum. But at Terni the Villanovans seem gradually to have disappeared or died out, because very few cremations have been found of the eighth or subsequent centuries. From about 800 B.C. onward it would seem as though the Picenes were occupying the very places previously inhabited by the Villanovans, invading their burial precincts and re-using the ground for their own graves. Very probably they had been reinforced by new colonists from their own hinterland, who had realized the importance of the place as the frontier station on a commercial road by which much traffic must pass from sea to sea. It was no doubt by this line that the Villanovan objects mentioned on p. 127 found their way down to Fermo, and the frequency of amber in some of the Terni graves is probably due to trade with the east coast.

Extreme Antiquity of Terni as shown by Fibulae

The extraordinarily archaic character of the First Period at Terni is brought out by a study of the fibulae, a typical series of which is illustrated in Plate 32, and may now be examined in order.

No. 1 in the plate is limited in date to the very earliest cemeteries of the Iron Age; it is found at Bismantova and Pianello.[1]

No. 2 is characteristic of the pre-Benacci graves of the Alban hills and the earliest period of the cemetery in the Forum at Rome.[2]

No. 3 is the 'quadrangular serpentine', of which a more regular example from Terni has been published by Bellucci.[3] It is a type very characteristic of the pre-Benacci and occurs at Pianello.[4]

No. 4 occurred in the Bronze Age depot of Casalecchio near Rimini, and a similar form with disc for catch-point was found with objects of the Bronze Age at Piediluco not far from Terni.[5]

[1] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 19, and *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol xl, tav. vi.

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 76; Montelius, Plates 138, 139.

[3] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxv, tav. v.

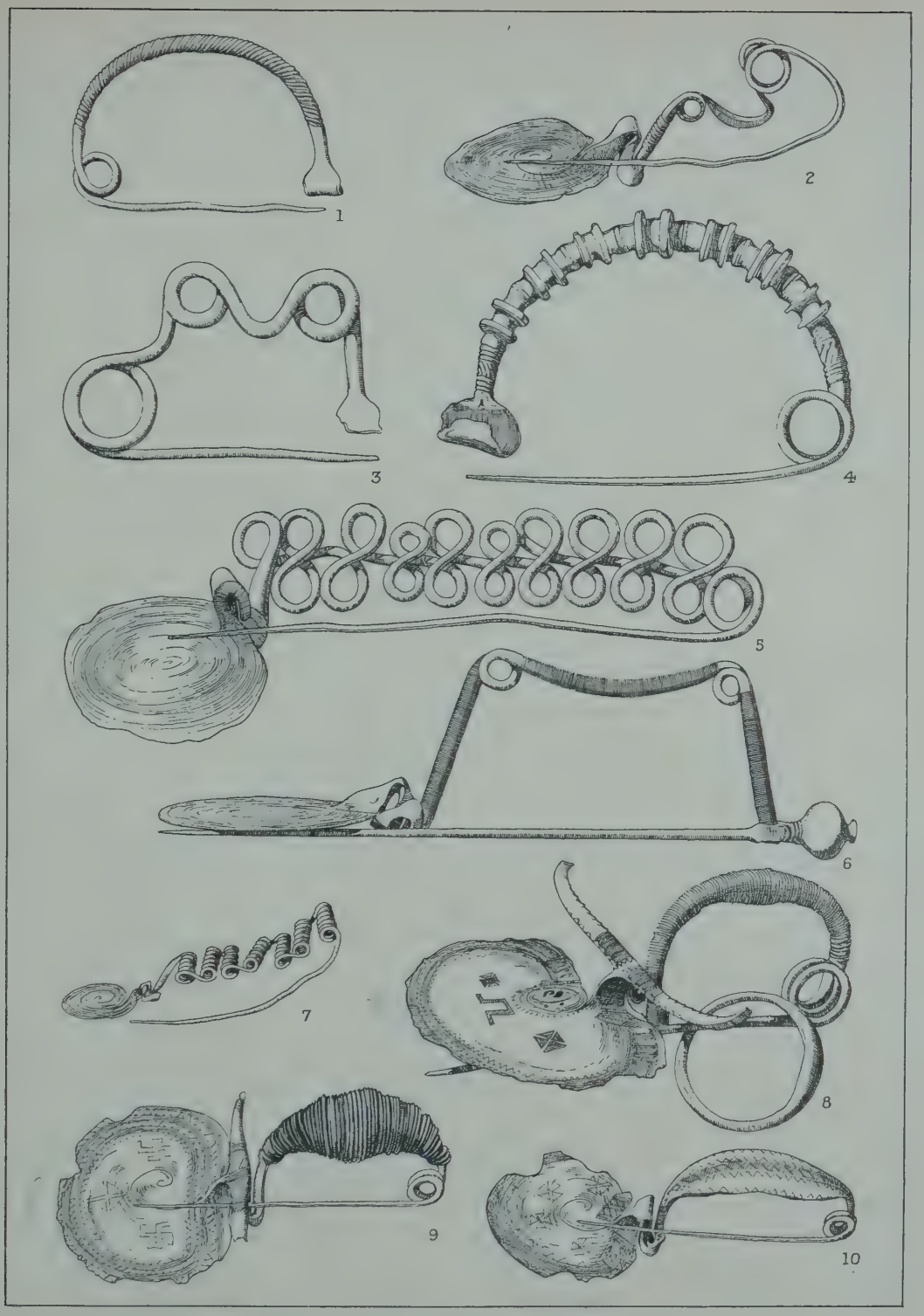
[4] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 19; *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xl, tav. v.

[5] Montelius, Plates 30, 123.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 32

PLATE 32. TERNI. A representative series of the fibulae found in the inhumation cemeteries. The extremely archaic character of the type shown in nos. 1–6 is to be remarked. Nos. 5 and 7 are evidently of foreign origin, probably copied from Hungarian models. All of bronze. Scale for nos. 1, 2, 4 is approximately $\frac{2}{3}$; for the remainder it is a little over $\frac{1}{2}$.

From *Not. Scavi* of 1914, figs. 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 41, and *Not. Scavi*, 1907, fig. 13.



TERNI. Bronze Fibulae of Archaic Types

No. 5 is a particularly interesting type, as it belongs to a class of which several variants have been found in Hungary. One of these is reproduced here as Fig. 40 because it actually resembles the Terni specimen more closely than any example found in Italy. A fibula from Pianello is close enough in shape to confirm the dating as pre-Benacci.[1]

No. 6 is a development of the quadrangular type which occurs also in the cemetery of Colle Cardeto in the city of Ancona,[2] at Silvi near Teramo,[3] at Gargano,[4] and at Lame in the province of Aquila.[5]

For no. 7 there is no precise parallel; it is a fancy form showing the same tendency in decoration as the Hungarian fibulae.

From the cemetery at Cardeto came a specimen of the type of no. 8, but without the cross-bar. The body is of the leech shape but much thinner. It was found in the same tomb as a plain bow-fibula with body of flat ribbon, a well-known type of the earliest Iron Age.[6]

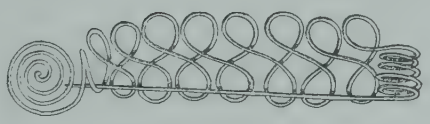


FIG. 40. Hungarian fibula, after Montelius, *Vorklassische Chronologie*, p. 225.

No. 9 is a remarkable variation on the last. The body of the fibula is formed of a large number of very thin bronze discs graduated according to size, an extraordinarily laborious piece of workmanship.

No. 10 may be compared with a fibula from Basciano near Teramo, illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 130, and also with the fibulae of Cardeto and Monteroberto shown in my Fig. 34 on p. 126.

Fibulae were extraordinarily frequent at Terni and sometimes occurred in great numbers in a single grave. Disc forms were extremely popular and more of them have been found on this one site than in any other one place in Italy. Sometimes they are of great beauty and rank among the best products of the archaic time. At Terni, as we have seen, these forms are extremely early; but the model was so much admired that it survived with some slight modifications for several centuries, so that even the magnificent gold disc-fibulae of Caere and Vulci are really descended from these prototypes. It is worth observing once again how often the Etruscans were indebted to their native predecessors for a great deal of fine metal-work.

The extremely archaic period at Terni which has just been described may be dated from about 1200 to about 1000 B.C. This is, therefore, one of the oldest inhumation cemeteries of the Iron Age, only equalled in its antiquity by the

[1] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 19; *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xl, tav. vi.

[2] *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xl, pp. 154, 155, and *Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 442.

[3] Montelius, *Série A*, no. 213.

[4] Montelius, *Série A*, no. 214.

[5] Montelius, *Série B*, Plate 131, fig. 8.

[6] *Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 444.

inhumation burials of the Roman Forum and a few graves at Ancona and other places on the Adriatic coast.[1] It is contemporary with the cremation sites of Bismantova and Pianello, which mark the moment of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. It is important therefore to observe that it derived little or nothing from the west or north of Italy; its connexions are with the east coast, and its peculiarities are precisely those which characterize Picenum and the Adriatic side.

The inhumation cemeteries of Terni do not cease with the tenth century; there are numerous graves of the eighth and seventh, as well as a later series belonging to the fourth century. These, however, cannot be examined or analysed in detail until the long-promised official report is published.[2] Only then will it be possible to detect the moment when Etruscan influence intervenes, and to estimate how far it superseded the older civilization of the Picenes.

A brief reference must be made to a peculiarity of construction found in some of the graves dating apparently from about the ninth and eighth centuries. Usually they were simple trenches, mounded over with stones so as to present the form of a low tumulus; but in some cases this tumulus was surrounded by a circular enclosure of unworked boulders, occasionally preceded by a short line of five similar boulders. It is inevitable to recall the alignments and circles of Golasecca, but even apart from the difference of date there can hardly be any real connexion. I am very much disposed to agree with von Duhn that it is useless to search for any ethnical unity in the several sets of circle graves which occur in different parts of Italy. In this case the nearest analogy is actually found within Picenum itself, at Tolentino, where the site of La Bura was remarkable for several circle graves, illustrated in his Plate 157 by Montelius.

The Origin and Connexions of Picene Civilization

Having described the characteristics and the geographical distribution of the very distinctive Picene civilization I may attempt to draw some conclusions as to its origin and connexions. On a subject which is so entirely new there is no extant body of comment which can assist us. When the contents of the Ancona Museum are more widely known they will of course become the theme of intensive criticism from which there will be much to learn. And when the Balkan countries have been more fully explored by archaeologists a mass of data may be expected which will be of immense value for purposes of comparison.

[1] Cf. above, pp. 125, 126.

[2] The specimens from the Government excavations are in the Museo di Villa Giulia, where they will not be accessible to the general public until the new wing is opened. A detailed official account was promised as long ago as 1914, and is most urgently needed.

In the meanwhile it may seem hazardous to attempt to draw general conclusions, and yet some points of importance may already be deduced from an analysis of the available material, incomplete though it undoubtedly is for the present.

From the record of the earliest cemeteries of Terni, the results of which are confirmed by a few graves found in and near Ancona as well as at Novilara, it seems plain that the tribes which I classify as Picene were already settled in their homes between the Apennines and the Adriatic at the very beginning of the Iron Age. It was probably their presence in this region which deflected the invading waves of the Villanovans and caused them to turn westward over the Apennines. There is good reason to consider that the Picenes had occupied the whole country from Terni to Ancona, and from Rimini to Alfedena, since the earliest neolithic times, and there can be no occasion to postulate any later invasion to account for their existence.

From first to last the Picene civilization is quite independent of the Villanovan, and shows many striking differences from it. Even the slight amount of material available from the twelfth to the ninth century B.C. proves that there was very little connexion between Picenum and the west or north of Italy. It suggests, however, that there was already commerce with Hungary and the Balkans. The spectacle-fibula, so peculiarly characteristic of the east coast of Italy, is not uncommon in Greece, and is found on such sites as Sanskimost and Gorica in Bosnia.[1] But it is so rare west of the Apennines that it is unquestionably a foreign importation when it occurs there. The figure-of-eight fibula, no. 5 of Plate 32, belongs to a class which is represented by several variants in Hungary, where it is probably in its own home; whereas even in Picenum it is rare and elsewhere in Italy it is quite unknown. Foliated fibulae, like no. 10 of Plate 32, are so numerous at Terni that this must have been the centre of production for that model. They were presumably an independent invention of the Picenes, copied for many generations by neighbouring peoples, and adopted by the Etruscans of the seventh century as a model for some of their finest gold-work.

Quitting this archaic period with its still very slender body of evidence I may speak with more confidence of the eighth and seventh centuries, the general features of which are delineated with satisfactory completeness in the Servici cemetery of Novilara.

The products of the Servici graves are, as already pointed out, quite different in the main from those of the peoples living either north or west of Picenum. Except for a very few imported articles there is nothing to associate the Picenes with Este, Bologna, or Etruria. But there are many points of

[1] *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, Bd. VI, pp. 88, 93, and Bd. VIII, p. 14.

agreement which connect them with the other side of the Adriatic; their affinities, not indeed of race but of culture, are all with the Balkans and the countries neighbouring on Greece. Thus it may be seen from Plate 23, which illustrates the whole equipment of a Novilaran warrior, that all his weapons, offensive and defensive, are either directly imported or else copied from models used in the Balkans or in Greece of the Dipylon era.

The most remarkable and peculiar of these weapons, quite unlike anything found in the rest of Italy, is the sword shown in Fig. 30 and in nos. 8 and 17 of Plate 23. It is a broad and rather short tapering blade, more of a chopping-knife than a sword in its nature, with the cutting edge on the inside and a thick back to give it weight. The hilt is not in the same line with the blade but is cast at an obtuse angle to it. This is a type wholly unknown in the Hallstatt series and quite foreign to all the countries which depended on the Hallstatt tradition. But I have identified it in the country where short and heavy-

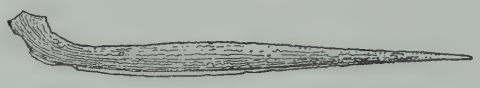


FIG. 41. Iron sword from the Bosnian site of Sanskimost. After *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, Bd. VI, p. 99. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

FIG. 42. Iron *haumesser* from the Bosnian site of Donja Dolina. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$. After *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, vol. ix, p. 152.

backed cutting weapons have always been at home, from the time of the pile-dwellings down to medieval and even modern days. This region is Bosnia. In the publications of the Sarajevo Museum may be seen a sword and *haumesser* which are precise counterparts of those from the graves of Novilara. The handsome sheath which gives the Picene sword its curiously oriental appearance has not been traced on the Bosnian sites, where the wooden sheaths had all perished, leaving only slight traces of a leather covering. But the form of the blade is absolutely identical, as may be seen in a specimen from Sanskimost.

In a *haumesser* from the pile-dwelling of Donja Dolina the special peculiarity of the obtuse-angled hilt appears still more clearly, though the blade is rather more curved than in the regular Novilara sword.

Not so exclusively distinctive but also known in Bosnia as well as in Greece is the sword shown in Fig. 31 on p. 113. But the double-edged blade in Fig. 32 on p. 113 is absolutely Greek and belongs to a perfectly different school of arms. So, too, the dagger shown as no. 1 in Plate 23 is not particularly confined to any one region; it is a trade article from the regular Hallstatt stock of exports. Yet the dagger of Fig. 33 on p. 114 with its curiously curved blade and heavy back has exactly the Bosnian idiosyncrasies, though I do not know any precise counterpart.

The helmets of Novilara may look at first sight as if they were Etruscan, but they are not, and the closest analogies to them are actually provided by forms from Carniola and from Greece. They tend, therefore, to confirm the same line of argument, which indicates an active traffic in arms between Picenum and the opposite coasts of the Adriatic.

Next, then, we must inquire by what route these arms were transported, and through what combination of circumstances it could happen that a Picene warrior, of the seventh or eighth century B.C., looked like an infantry-man from Greece who had collected some souvenirs from Bosnia.

Any idea of direct traffic with Greece must be ruled out on the evidence. For on the east coast of Italy are found none of the staple products of Aegean trade, the pre-Corinthian pottery, Cypriote silver-work, and Phoenicio-Egyptian bazaar trinkets, which are so abundant on all the Etruscan sites of the same date. It seems as if the Adriatic were *mare clausum*, unvisited by the pioneers of Greek commerce. Sometimes an occasional ship may have run over from Corfu or the coasts of Albania, for, as von Duhn well remarks, the headland of Gargano is so close that it is easily visible from the highlands of Albania. But it is very likely that the Illyrians had already taken up their natural vocation, and were more addicted to piracy than to peaceful trade. Indeed, I am inclined to interpret the sea-fight depicted on stele no. 3 of Plate 24 as the actual record of an engagement between Picene merchantmen and corsairs sailing in pre-Liburnian galleys.

The real trade-route in general use was evidently from the Balkans by land to the head of the Adriatic, whence goods were either sent forward by land to Lombardy or carried in coasting vessels down the east coast of Italy. Ancona, therefore, may have been a flourishing seaport from almost the beginning of the Iron Age, while Trieste or some place very near it must have been the great centre for the reception and distribution of merchandise. That this route was in use during the sixth and fifth centuries is beyond doubt, and there is no other consistent explanation of the facts which I have cited for the seventh and eighth.

My argument for the fifth and sixth centuries may be stated as follows. There are ornaments from Golasecca in the museum of Torino which are so nearly identical with others from the Tronto, preserved in the museum of Ascoli, that they must unquestionably have been produced in the same place.[1] It cannot be maintained that they were brought over the Apennines and across Etruria, for there is no trace of any similar objects in the regions through which they would have passed. Consequently we should infer even without

[1] Cf. Plate 15, with Plate 27.

further evidence that the connexions between Lago Maggiore and Ancona must have been made by a land-route passing along the north side of the Po, connecting with a sea-passage down from Trieste.

Direct evidence, however, for the first part of this route is actually provided by the fact which I have noted in an earlier chapter,[1] that the small ornaments used by the Comacines bear the closest possible resemblance to those of the Istrians. Only a trade system which had its central point at the head of the Gulf of Venice could explain the circumstance that in places as far apart as Lago Maggiore, Istria, Picenum, and Bosnia[2] there are torques, pendants, and amulets all so similar that they must have been distributed by the same firm of agents. It is not easy to say where was the actual centre of production. It can hardly have been the Comacine country, always so poor in art and invention. It might very well have been Hungary or Bosnia, but it is rather tempting to suggest that it was actually Picenum itself, which must have needed some easily marketable commodity to give in exchange for the amber which was so much in demand.

I suggest, then, that the entire trade of Picenum before the sixth century, with the exception of a few imports from Bologna, passed by a northern route up the Adriatic in coasting vessels which generally avoided Este but made their goal somewhere at the head of the Gulf. The trade up and down this route was in no way diminished during the sixth and following centuries; but new commercial opportunities were afforded by the foundation of the Greek colonies in Magna Graecia, so that then for the first time the Picenes found it worth while to turn their attention to the south.

The Ionic bronzes and other objects of Greek workmanship found at Belmonte were imported from Apulia, as is clearly shown by the occurrence on the same site of Apulian geometric pottery. Once it had begun, a steady trade was carried on between Picenum and Apulia, extending probably to Taranto; with the result that Greek vases have been found not only at such places as Belmonte and Numana but even as far off as Nesazio in Istria.[3]

[1] See above, pp. 60, 76.

[2] For Bosnia, see especially vol. viii, pp. 1–74, of *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina.*

[3] Aufidena, the Samnite capital near Castel di Sangro, has been several times mentioned in this chapter. But the Samnites were so poor that the site, though intensely interesting, adds little archaeological detail to the general picture. Readers who wish to study it may be referred to Mariani's admirable memoir in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. x, and to Von Duhn's résumé in *Italische Gräberkunde*, vol. i, pp. 557–69. See also Montelius, Plate 373.

PART III

SOUTHERN ITALY: SICILY, CAMPANIA, CALABRIA, APULIA

V

SICILY

IN approaching the problems offered by the archaeology of Southern Italy in the Iron Age the student must be prepared for an entire change of orientation. When treating of Northern and Central Italy our most constant standard for types and dates has been Bologna. But this is a standard which becomes useless and must be wholly abandoned in any discussion as to the antiquity or origin of types found in Apulia and Calabria, or even in Campania. For in all these southern provinces the earliest civilization that can be detected in the Iron Age is already affected by Aegean influences, which entirely predominate over any slight currents that may have percolated through from Latium.

For a long time before the Chalcidians planted their first colony at Cuma, or the Corinthians settled at Syracuse, it is evident that roving traders trafficked all along the coasts of the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian seas. They brought with them for barter the cheaper and more common ornaments, weapons, and vases which were in contemporary use in the Aegean; and this explains why it is that the fibulae of South Italy are not of Villanovan types, but are almost always the products of Greek factories or local imitations of Greek originals.

Sicily had benefited by an intermittent trade with the Eastern Mediterranean for a much longer time than the mainland. Mycenaean objects, which are entirely unknown in Italy, have been found on several Sicilian sites, dating from a time when even the hardiest of mariners were afraid to pass the Straits of Messina. Our knowledge of the eastern part of the island, though of course by no means complete, ranges in unbroken sequence from the Stone Age to the Roman Empire, which makes it possible to establish a time-scale for the dating of fibulae and other objects. Owing to the paucity of excavations these may be known only sporadically in Campania or Calabria, and yet be perfectly familiar with all their proper accompaniments on a whole series of Sicilian sites. From the more or less complete picture in the one country it is sometimes possible to restore the lost and marred lines in the imperfect canvas of the other.

But it must not be supposed for a moment that Italy was in any way dependent upon Sicily, nor yet that Sicily was dependent upon Italy. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the absence of anything like constant trade or intercourse between the two sides of the straits before the colonization of Magna Graecia.

For the archaeologist, in fact, Sicily and Italy are two perfectly distinct and independent countries, having no relationship and very little intercourse with one another. The Stone and Bronze Ages in Sicily exhibit a culture unlike anything else in the Mediterranean, and entirely different in every respect from the contemporary culture of Italy. This profound difference persists during the Iron Age. There is not a trace in Sicily of the Hallstatt cycle which permeates all the mainland of Europe; there is not a single object belonging to that specifically Italian civilization which evolved under the Etruscans. In all its development Sicily follows an entirely original and self-determining course. Northern and Central Italy, drawing their population in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages from the regions beyond the Alps, continued to progress on lines which are fairly parallel to those followed by the Danubian peoples. At first importing weapons and metal-work from Central Europe, the Italians, as they improved in skill and artistic sense under Etruscan inspiration and inventive genius, before long exported their own manufactures to the descendants of their semi-barbarous kinsmen in the countries from which they had migrated. But Sicily, cut off from mainland connexions and populated by a Mediterranean race, which was little if at all affected by foreign conquests or immigration until the coming of the Greeks and Carthaginians, developed its own specialized and intensive civilization without interruptions or revolutionary changes. And this civilization is autochthonous, native born, and wholly peculiar. For its material it was of course indebted in some degree to foreign commerce, but this was a seaborne commerce, proceeding from Greece and the Eastern Aegean. Mycenaean weapons and Mycenaean pottery appear in the Second Siculan Period, Greek forms of fibulae are found from the thirteenth century onwards. But the trade in metals and manufactured objects affected none of the deep springs of Sicilian life. The unchanging population continued to practise the same burial rites, to lay their dead as they had always done in the rock-hewn chambers of inaccessible cliffs, and to furnish them at their funeral banquet with the masterpieces of Sicilian potters. No hint of foreign custom had penetrated before the close of the Bronze Age; this splendid barbarism remained unsoftened and unspoiled.

The Third Siculan Period

The end of the Bronze Age is the end of Orsi's Second Siculan period. The Third Siculan period begins with the tenth century, and we pass into it almost insensibly without any signs of abrupt transition. A site like Pantalica,[1]

[1] See *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ix.

which begins in the Mycenaean age, continues for a couple of centuries after 1000 B.C. with little discernible change; and the progress of time would scarcely have been remarked but for the slight modification which occurs in the type of the fibulae, and a certain impoverishment in the products of the potters' art. The fibulae characteristic of the latest Bronze Age give way in the tenth century to the form seen in Fig. 43, which continues in use for another five hundred years, never wholly driven out by the new fashions introduced through Syracuse and Megara. Its first appearance, however, makes a distinct chronological point, and once this has been established we are enabled to isolate the Early Iron Age, to separate it from its antecedents and to study it as a period in itself. Under an observation thus newly focused certain definite characteristics begin to appear. The native civilization continues; it is unchanged in all its essentials; but it has entered upon a stage of decadence and decline. The old power and virility have disappeared. The architecture of the tombs has lost all its beauty and elaboration of detail. Within the simple chamber the dead are no longer seated at a magnificent banquet, they are extended on the ground with their heads resting on a block of stone; their furniture consists only of a few small water-jars and trumpery pots manufactured of a rough country ware that shows neither skill nor invention.

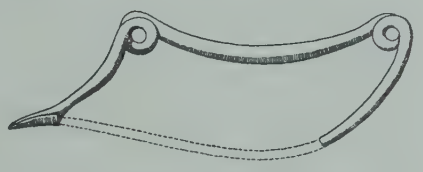


FIG. 43. Bronze fibula. After *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xxiv, p. 77. Scale about $\frac{2}{3}$.

Exhausted and apathetic in their degeneration the Siculans had the good fortune to be reinvigorated by foreign influence, for already in the eighth century they were becoming more and more dependent upon their imports from abroad. But it was at the price of their independence; the Greek trader who supplied their needs sapped all the springs of independent resource and initiative. Thus it happens that everything which is of interest in Sicilian graves, from the ninth century to the fifth, is either a Greek importation or the direct imitation of a Greek original. It must be freely allowed that the sources of our information are incomplete. The view that we are able to obtain of Siculan life at this period is partial and restricted, for almost without exception the tombs had been plundered by Byzantine or Arab treasure-hunters and everything deemed of value removed from them. Metals were no doubt the special object of the tomb-robbers' cupidity; except for the pottery little remained in all the hundreds of tombs which Orsi has explored but fibulae and small ornaments of bronze or iron. Such as they are, however, these bear out the substance of my argument; all these objects are Greek or imitated

from Greek models. And even if we take into account, as is only fair, the hoards of bronze which have been found once or twice in independent deposits designed for the use of the foundry the case is hardly altered. Near Adernò was found a *ripostiglio* of large bronze spears, bronze girdles decorated with studs and bosses, and many other objects showing skill and dexterity in bronze casting.[1] At Caltagirone another hoard was found which included bronze dippers, spirals of bronze ribbon, chain-work, and numerous rings of various dimensions.[2] These are interesting and prove that the work of the native bronze-smiths was far from contemptible. But they show little evidence of originality and none whatsoever of artistic sense; there is not a hint of the exuberant vitality and invention which in Italy at this very moment produced the masterpieces of Etruscan art. Had a few score of Siculan tombs been preserved from depredation we might indeed have been the richer by many examples of Greek workmanship, but it is improbable that we should have found original or striking products of purely native industry. And so I may proceed, without attempting to describe the Siculan cemeteries in detail, to discuss the interesting problems presented by the only class of objects which survived in any considerable quantity.

Geometric Pottery—the Graeco-Siculan School

This is the pottery which, being unattractive to the robber, had been thrown on one side or trampled into the earth of the tomb floor, so that it has been preserved to the present day, when Orsi's patient and methodical excavations have brought it to light and placed it in the great historical series exhibited in the wonderful little museum of Syracuse. In regard to pottery the contact of the Greeks and barbarians in Sicily produced results which are not only interesting in themselves, but are important for the writer of Italian pre-history on account of the parallels and comparisons which they afford for the mainland. In the following chapters I shall discuss the geometric pottery of the several provinces of Southern Italy. I have here to treat of the Graeco-Siculan geometric pottery, a product which is wholly independent but which offers certain useful points of analogy. It has a very great advantage in the fact that it can be closely dated and the history of its evolution can be traced by the checks and comparisons derived from finds made in the adjoining Greek colonies, especially those of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea.

The finest and most complete series of this pottery was obtained from Siculan cemeteries near Licodia Euboea in the province of Catania, which

[1 & 2] Museum of Siracusa, unpublished.

may be grouped as a unit for present purposes under the name of Licodia.[1] They are situated close to a road which was of great importance in ancient days as serving for communication between Gela and Camarina on the one side and Catana and Leontinoi on the other. Here, in tombs which their topographical position and their construction show to be native Siculan, Orsi found Greek vases and small Greek ornaments of the seventh and sixth centuries associated with a style of pottery which is absolutely unknown in the contemporary Greek tombs of Fusco and Megara. It is made not of the fine clay which characterizes all Corinthian and Attic wares but of a coarser earth mixed with many fragments of volcanic débris which show that the material came from the neighbourhood of Etna. It has a smooth white surface due to the application of a slip or ingubbiatura, and on this white surface are painted simple geometrical designs in matt colours, brown or black or red. Most of the shapes are demonstrably imitated from current Greek forms, a few others are merely modifications of types long used by the native Siculans.

Pottery of this class has now been obtained from a number of sites, but it has never yet occurred in any genuinely Greek grave. The position of the cemeteries in which it occurs, the structural type of the graves, the association with rude native ware which no Greek would ever have used, all prove it to be an article made exclusively for the use of the barbarian. It may have been manufactured in Greek factories for the Siculan market, or it may have been produced by native potters apprenticed to Greek masters: the result in either case is the same; it is export-pottery sent up from the settlements on the coast to the Siculan villages on the plateaux. In all essential points it differs from the native wares; not only are the shapes generally Greek, but the employment of paint, which is quite unknown in purely Siculan pottery, the orderly and harmonious distribution of the patterns, so unlike the haphazard ornamentation of the incised country ware, and to a great extent the choice of the motives themselves, betray the foreign origin. Its character and its history are denoted by the term which has been chosen for it, *Graeco-Siculan*.

It was on the evidence of the sites near Licodia and the dating of Corinthian and Attic vases found in the native tombs there that Orsi decided to establish his 'Fourth Siculan Period', and to fix its chronological limits as from the seventh to the fifth century. The 'Third Siculan Period' is consequently defined as from the ninth century to the seventh.

Now Graeco-Siculan pottery is not confined to the Fourth Period; it occurs plentifully in the Third. Thus some very fine examples were found (nos. 6–12 of Plate 33) at S. Aloe near Lentini. The handsome specimen shown

[1] Orsi, *Römische Mitt.*, vol. 13, 1898.

as no. 9 in Plate 33 was taken from the same tomb as the very characteristic and important little amphora illustrated here as Fig. 44. This, with its decoration of water-birds, is of pure Dipylon style, and from the fineness of the clay and the whole appearance of the piece I should not have hesitated to class it as an original imported from Greece, were it not for the difficulty pointed out by Orsi that the red paint is quite matt without a trace of varnish. Orsi accepts this criterion as absolute; for my own part I am beginning to doubt its infallibility. Whether imported or not, however, the style of the vase must place it earlier than 700 B.C. A similar design of water-birds may be seen on a two-handled cup found in another grave at Lentini, illustrated farther on as Fig. 52 in my text.

FIG. 44. Painted amphora from S. Aloe. After *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xv, fig. 9. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Siculan cemetery of Lentini only begins in the second half of the Third Period, so that for a review of the entire period we must study Finocchito, a site ten kilometres west of Noto, where Orsi explored 266 tombs cut in the cliff-face like those of Pantalica.[1] Here we find not only the finished product of the Graeco-Siculan potters, but also an abundance of rude native ware, and a certain number of Greek pieces of earlier importation than those noted at Licodia. These all antedate the proto-Corinthian, and must be assigned to that earlier cycle of geometrical pottery in Greece which is contemporary with the Dipylon. The most characteristic types, dating from the eighth and possibly even the ninth century, are little oenochoae and askoi painted with the simplest kind of linear designs such as are shown in nos. 1–4 of Plate 33. This is a style not found in the first Greek colonies of Sicily and must therefore precede the period of colonization. It is seen again in no. 8 of Plate 33 from Lentini, which was found in the same tomb as the Dipylonic amphora shown above in Fig. 44.

We can now see, therefore, that it was the introduction of these new models which produced a twofold result. On the one hand, it led to the imitation of purely Greek shapes by the native potters, so that at Finocchito there are askoi made in rough country ware, and oenochoae in which the painted lines are counterfeited by rude patterns incised upon the clay. On the other hand, it led to a study of decorative designs and the production of a new white-faced ware which gradually improved in technique until it reached its high-water-mark

[1] Orsi in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx.

in the late Third and the Early Fourth Period. This is the Graeco-Siculan, the first definite appearance of which can be dated, as we have seen, to the eighth century but not earlier. The original types must be those which appear at Finocchito, so that the more spherical forms of amphora seen in nos. 6–12 of Plate 33 are the ancestors of the long and slender jars like nos. 14 and 16 in the same plate. Graeco-Siculan ware continued in use until 500 B.C., when it was replaced by purely Greek imported fabrics. Before 450 B.C. the last traces of distinctive Siculan life had disappeared and Greek products monopolized the commerce of the island.

I have mentioned the fact that there is a certain generic resemblance between the Graeco-Siculan style of Sicily and the geometric wares of Southern Italy. There is no reason to suppose that either one is derived from the other, but it may be asked whether they have not a single common source of origin. Certainly the resemblance of the Sicilian to the contemporary geometric ware of Cyprus is so marked that it seems to go beyond the probabilities of mere coincidence. I would suggest that some of the imported pieces, e. g. the Ossini specimen shown as no. 5 of Plate 33, may have been actually made in Cyprus. But in many cases the material of the clay body, with which fragments of volcanic débris have been mixed, forbids the idea that the jar can have been manufactured anywhere except in the eastern half of Sicily, and the local school must soon have achieved complete independence. Besides the sites of Finocchito, Lentini, and Licodia, the cemeteries of Ossini, Tremenzano, and Monte S. Basile in the Third Period, and Grammichele and Vizzini in the Fourth, have yielded important series of this pottery, and sporadic examples have been found in several other places.

Complete Tomb-groups at Finocchito

Having discussed the pottery I may very briefly describe one or two of the more important and characteristic tombs in which it was found. At Finocchito, tomb 66 in the western group was exceptional in being quite unplundered. It was cut in the side of the steep cliff, and the accompanying section shows the style of construction. The entrance was closed by a perfectly fitting slab set up vertically as a door, which was barricaded on the outside by a rough stone wall of dry masonry. In the rectangular chamber lay three skeletons at full length with their legs slightly flexed. On the fingers of one body was a little bronze spiral ring of two turns, a flat bone ring, and a round bronze ring. On the thigh of another were found a stout bronze ring $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres in diameter, the serpentine bronze fibula shown here as Fig. 46,

and an iron fibula of the same shape. On the finger of one hand was a little round bronze ring and on the lower ribs were two large bronze rings, four and six centimetres in diameter; high upon the breast were links of a necklace of bronze chain-work, and on the shoulder was a second bronze fibula like Fig. 46. On the fingers and close to the hands of the third individual were a thin bronze penannular ring, a hook-shaped pendant of amber, two small annular bronze rings, and a bronze serpentine fibula like the others, with a stone threaded on it; by one shoulder was a thin bronze ring. An extraordinarily large serpentine fibula of iron was also found.

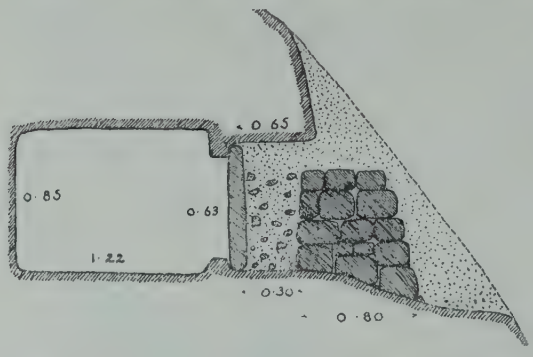


Fig. 45. Section of a grave at Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx, tav. ii.

Fig. 46. Bronze fibula from a grave at Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx, tav. v. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

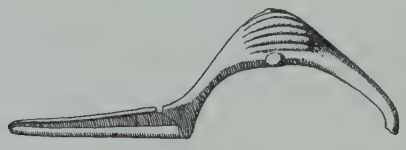


Fig. 47. Bronze fibula from Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx, tav. iv. Scale a little larger than $\frac{2}{3}$.

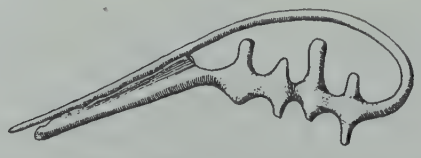


Fig. 48. Bronze fibula from Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx, tav. iv. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

The pottery consisted of one plain askos of rough ware, an askos of fine clay ornamented with lines in brown, a small oenochoe of rough ware, a two-handled *orciuolo* of rough ware, a one-handled bowl with traces of brown lines upon it, another one-handled bowl decorated with a more elaborate design (shown in no. 1 of Plate 34) which recalls the old pattern of the Second Period at Cassibile, a cylindrical cup of rough ware, and a small imported oenochoe.

Tomb 62 in the southern group was also unplundered and its closing slab was still in place. It contained seven skeletons, with the following objects: four bronze boat-fibulae of the type of Fig. 47, a bronze serpentine fibula of the type of Fig. 48, and a bronze biconical bead. The pottery consisted of rough native ware and imported Greek. A small plain oenochoe and two others decorated with brown lines, one of which is shown as no. 2 in Plate 33, may be classed as Greek, and so may two cups with traces of coloured lines and a plain bowl of fine clay.

Another unplundered tomb, no. 61 of the same group, contained a similar mixture of Proto-hellenic geometric pottery with native ware, a broken fibula of bone, and an armlet of bronze ribbon with a ring of amber strung upon it.

Tomb no. 2 in the north-western group contained only one skeleton, with which was the ring and chain-pendants shown as Fig. 49, a fibula like Fig. 48, and an iron fibula sheathed with bone inset with amber, similar to fibulae found in the cemetery of Syracuse, one of which is reproduced here as Fig. 50 in order to show the type. The only pottery was a bowl of yellow clay in fragments.

FIG. 49. Bronze pendants from Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxiii, tav. vii. Scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{3}$.

In tomb 5 of the same group there were no skeletal remains, but several small ornaments were found, viz. bronze rings of nearly seven centimetres diameter, three bronze beads, and fragments of a boat-fibula. There were also remains of an iron fibula like Fig. 50, and a piece of amber strung on a bronze wire. With these were a plain little jug and a local imitation of a Greek kylix painted with bands, triglyphs, and herring-bones.

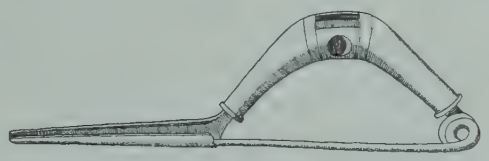


FIG. 50. Fibula sheathed with bone inset with amber. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxiii, p. 160. Scale a little larger than $\frac{2}{3}$.

In tomb 17 of the same group were two skeletons with the remains of two bronze fibulae and an amphora of yellow clay with traces of a pattern in paint, similar both in form and decoration to the example from Ossini, shown in no. 5 of Plate 33. With these were a little jug of fine clay, a small imported oenochoe, and three bowls of native make.

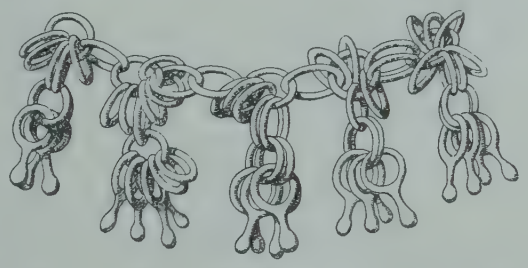


FIG. 51. Bronze pendants from Finocchito. After *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxiii, no. 7. Scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.

In tomb 47 of the same group were three skeletons, with one of which was

the necklace of bronze chain-links and bronze pendants shown as Fig. 51, as well as two boat-fibulae and two cylindrical beads of amber. The other contents of the tomb were two boat-fibulae, three native-made bowls, and an imported oenochoe.

In tomb 90 of the same group there were two skeletons with several ornaments. The first had a necklace made of five biconical and two cylindrical bronze beads, two large boat-fibulae from each of which hung a pendant of plain bronze links, a broken rectangular plaque of ivory, and a bronze bracelet six centimetres in diameter. The second had a boat-fibula, four large biconical beads of bronze, and an armlet made of two strands of bronze wire from which hung two or three small rings. The only pottery was a small oenochoe of fine clay.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 33, 34

PLATE 33. SIRACUSA. Graeco-Siculan pottery from the sites of Finocchito (nos. 1–4), Ossini (no. 5), Lentini (nos. 6–12), Scifazzo (no. 13), Licodia (no. 16). The exact provenance of nos. 14 and 15 is unknown.

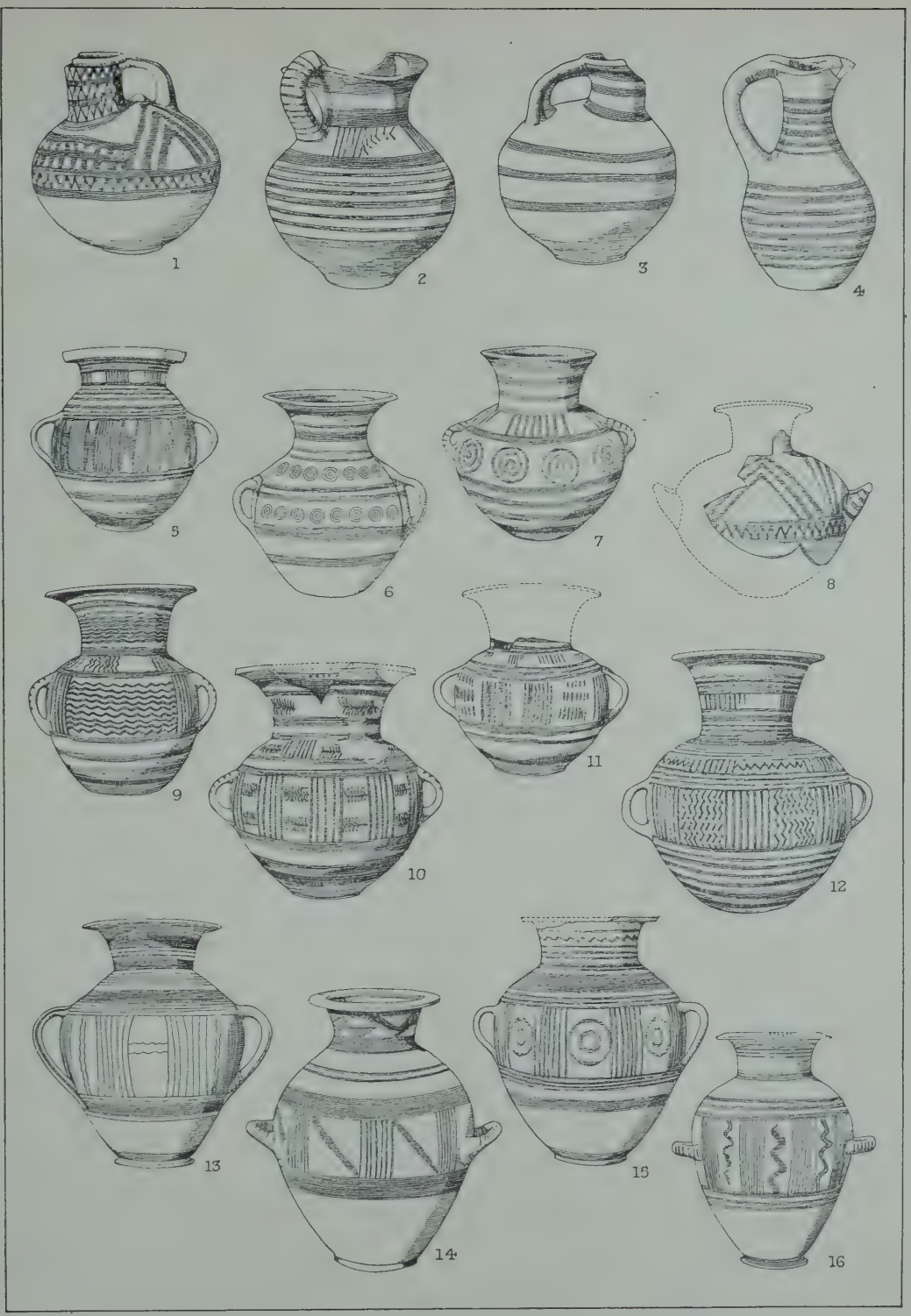
Scale for nos. 1–4 is $\frac{1}{4}$; for nos. 5–12 is $\frac{1}{7}$; for nos. 13–16 is $\frac{1}{9}$.

Nos. 1–3 are taken from *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx, and no. 4 from *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxiii; nos. 6, 7, and 12–16 are from *Römische Mitt.*, vol. 13; nos. 8–11 from *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xv; no. 5 from *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xxiv.

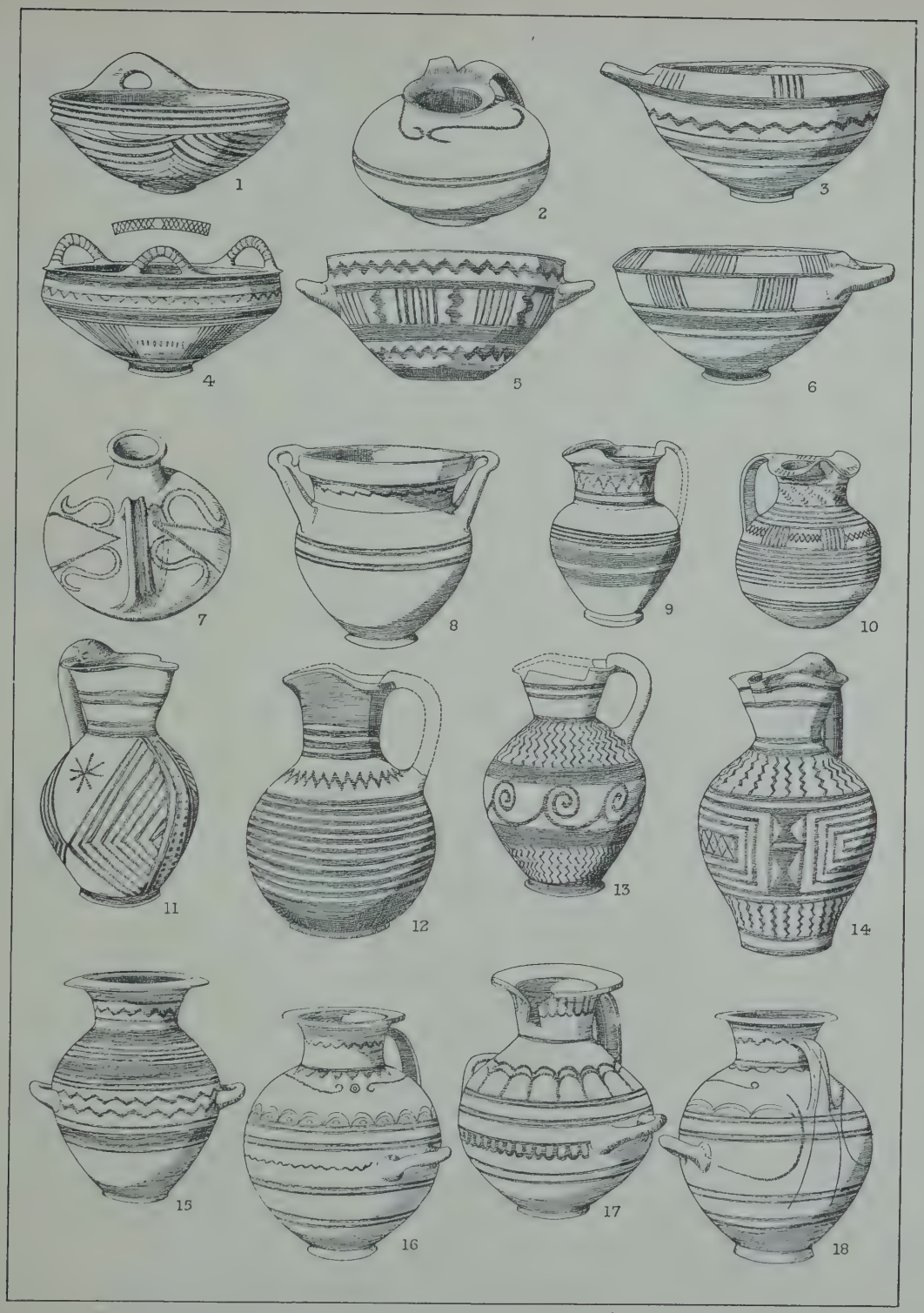
PLATE 34. SIRACUSA. Graeco-Siculan geometric pottery from the sites of Finocchito (no. 1), Licodia (nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 15–18), Grammichele (no. 4), Scicli (no. 9), Tremenzano (no. 10), Lentini (no. 12). The exact provenance of nos. 5 and 7 is unknown. Nos. 11 and 12 are from the neighbourhood of Girgenti.

Scale for nos. 1–6 is about $\frac{1}{5}$; for no. 7 is $\frac{1}{7}$; for nos. 8–14 is $\frac{1}{4}$; for nos. 15–18 is $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 1 is taken from *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx; nos. 2–11 and 13–15 from *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xiii; no. 12 from *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xv.



SIRACUSA. Geometric Pottery of Graeco-Siculan Style



SIRACUSA. Geometric Pottery of Graeco-Siculan Style

Complete Tomb-groups at Lentini

Tomb no. 2 at Lentini.[1] In a plain square chamber were two skeletons with which were found a pottery spindle-whorl, three amber beads, a leaf-shaped iron knife, and a quantity of pottery in fragments. The most important example among the pottery was the small amphora decorated with water-birds which has already been mentioned and illustrated as Fig. 44. With these were two typical Graeco-Siculan amphorae decorated with bands, triglyphs, and wavy lines, one of which is shown as no. 9 in Plate 33; a stamnos with painted dots and lines; two painted oenochoae, one of which is shown as no. 12 in Plate 34, while the other is precisely similar to no. 4 in Plate 33; several one-handled bowls and ribbon-handled dippers similarly painted; and fragments of 'proto-Corinthian' kylikes with horizontal bands and triglyphs. With these were some examples of rough-faced local ware, and grey smooth-faced local ware incised with lines. The mixture of the three classes, viz. imported Greek, unimproved native, and Graeco-Siculan geometric in a single tomb is interesting and important.

FIG. 52. Painted cup from a grave at Lentini. After *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xv, p. 76. Scale ½.

Tomb no. 3 of Lentini[1] was of the same form as the last, and contained three skeletons, on the breast of one of which was an iron knife. The pottery consisted of three jugs of local grey ware and some important painted specimens, of which the most interesting was the cup with water-birds, shown here as Fig. 52. Besides this there were the fragments of a stamnos painted with triglyphs, and half a dozen large amphorae, two of which are shown as nos. 8 and 10 of Plate 33, while another closely resembled no. 6 of Plate 33, and a fourth had only bands and triglyphs upon it. Also there were remains of about ten bowls painted with bands and triglyphs.

[1] *Römische Mitt.*, vol. 15 of 1900, p. 69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Finocchito in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vols. xx, xxii, xxiii.—Fusco in *Not. Sc.*, 1895, p. 165.—Grammichele in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii.—Lentini in *Römische Mitt.*, vols. xiii, xv, and *Not. Sc.*, 1887, p. 38.—Licodia in *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xiii.—Noto Vecchio in *Not. Sc.*, 1897, p. 76.—Ossini in *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xxiv.—Ragusa in *Not. Sc.*, 1892, p. 325.

VI

CAMPANIA

FOR the early history and pre-history of Campania the only available material comes from the districts immediately surrounding Naples. It is pitifully slight in quantity and not altogether satisfactory in quality, but we may learn from it some valuable points in regard to the founding of the Greek colony at Cumae and its relations to the indigenous inhabitants.

Excavations were conducted at Cumae for many years by a private individual, E. Stevens, whose whole very important collection was acquired in 1902 by the museum of Naples. The task of arranging this collection was entrusted to Gabrici, who after carefully studying it with the aid of memoranda left by Stevens succeeded in reducing the whole mass of material to good order. He published the results in an important memoir, vol. xxii of the *Monumenti Antichi*, which contains an admirably detailed record with a very full complement of illustrations. Accompanying the catalogue and inventory are some suggestive and interesting essays of a theoretical character, to which I shall make only slight reference, as the range and purpose of treatment in this chapter are somewhat different from those which the author had in view.

The primary purpose of Stevens's exploration at Cumae was of course to discover Greek graves, and it was only as an incidental result that he discovered a certain number which antedated the Chalcidian settlement. These he briefly characterized as 'archaic' and paid very little attention to them. It was only after his death that Gabrici disentangled their contents from the others, and supplemented the information obtained from them with the results of some later excavations, the details of which could be rather better controlled.[1]

The Earliest Greek Settlement. Its Geometric Pottery

Before dealing with the pre-Hellenic stratum, however, we must discuss some aspects of the earliest Greek settlement which are of great interest. And it will be well to clear the ground by an immediate statement, for which the justification will shortly follow, that the settlement of the Chalcidians at Cumae is not earlier than the second half of the eighth century.

[1] These are the diggings by Osta. See for the circumstances, *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, col. 91.

A great proportion of the Greek graves found at Cumae belong to the sixth and subsequent centuries, when Attic influence is predominant. With this period, described in the second part of the memoir in the *Monumenti Antichi*, we have nothing to do. All treatment of well-known classical schools of Greek art is foreign to the purpose of this volume. My aim is only to sketch its beginnings in the ill-defined phases of the preparatory period before 600 B.C., in so far as these react upon the indigenous Italian civilization.

The earliest Greek period is represented by the contents of sixty-eight graves [1] and by a certain number of isolated specimens which from their complete identity with those found in the graves may safely be attributed to the same stage. By far the most abundant, and for present purposes the only important material obtained from them is the pottery. It is Gabrici's particular merit to have closely defined this class of pottery and to have placed it in its correct sequence of time ; the principal types, derived from his illustrations, are shown in my Plates 35 and 36.

There is no great variety of form ; large oenochoae or water-jugs, smaller jugs which may be termed lekythoi, and a curious long-necked jar with hemispherical body, as seen in Plate 35, are the only frequent shapes. Of these the first two are familiar on all Greek sites, but the third is peculiar and new. All this ware is made on the wheel, and is composed of a finely purified clay of reddish colour, usually coated with a slip or ingubbiatura varying in tint from yellowish or greenish to buff. On the surface of the slip are painted simple designs in black.

It is the style no less than the detail of these designs, as shown in Plates 35 and 36, which must be studied, for upon it depends the whole theory of the origin of the pottery and the identity of its makers. There is an undercurrent of purely rectilinear geometrical decoration, band and vertical line, triangle and lozenge and square. But this is very seldom found alone ; with such simple elements derived from an age-old tradition widely spread over Europe and the Mediterranean are generally combined new schemes, floral and zoomorphic. A water-bird, the first sign of innovation in the rectilinear tradition, which begins to appear on imported Greek pottery in Etruria about 800 B.C., is now quite common and is depicted with increasing naturalism. Triangles, shooting up from the base like root-leaves, are a constant feature. Floral motives, highly stylized from the Greek palmetto, begin to appear. Fishes, stags, horses, serpents, drawn with a sure and practised hand, show long mastery of representation. It is a vivid, rich, and varied repertoire, indicative of a highly artistic people intensely interested in decoration and design. Obviously it is

[1] Inventory in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, cols. 213–71.

far removed from the limited, narrowly formalized style of the Graeco-Siculans which was studied in the last chapter. It arises from a new impulse inspired by the spirit of a vigorous creative youth, so like the spirit expressed in the early Corinthian pottery that in its more developed forms the work of the Cumaean draughtsman begins to suggest that of the Corinthian. But it is essentially independent and must be recognized as a distinct school.

Doubtless this school had some parent in Greece, and Gabrici boldly assumes that he can identify the parent as Chalcis in Euboea, the original mother-city of Cumae. But this is a leap in the dark, for as yet Chalcidian geometric pottery is unknown in Euboea. I am content, therefore, to leave the risk no less than the possible credit of the prophecy to its author. It is far more important for the present purpose to realize that, whatever may be its ancestry, the same school which is seen at Cumae has a twin-sister in Etruria. This is a point on which I scarcely touched in my preceding volume, as it belongs more appropriately to the present context. But now it must be clearly stated and understood that at Caere, Vulci, and above all at Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii, have been found numerous vases which show all the peculiar and distinctive features of Cumaean art. In Plate 37 are reproduced a few representative examples which have long been known ; Gabrici gives some more in his text-figures 139–47, and quite a number remain still unpublished in the newly arranged museum of Corneto.

Now fortunately the date of the Etrurian examples can be closely fixed from recognized landmarks in the archaeology of Etruria. For the style of geometric pottery in vogue at Corneto about 800 B.C. is well known from the Warrior's Tomb.[1] It is exceedingly simple, the repertoire is confined to triangles and lozenges with some rudimentary figures of water-birds, and there is no approach to floral or zoomorphic treatment. On the other hand, about 700 B.C. hints of a new movement begin to appear in the pottery of the tomb of Bocchoris.[2] The root-leaves so characteristic of the Cumaean treatment are now found for the first time, and rudely drawn animals betray the first gropings after zoomorphism. No graves in Etruria before the seventh century contain pottery with these special traits. It may safely be stated, therefore, that the well-defined class of geometric pottery which is common to Cumae and Corneto begins to appear in Etruria about 700 B.C. but hardly earlier, and continues in use for half a century or perhaps a little more, after which it is replaced by the fully developed Corinthian.

[1] See *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 30, or Montelius, Plates 287–90.

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Plate 31, or Montelius, Plate 295.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 35, 36, 37

PLATE 35. CUMAE. Painted geometric pottery of the same class that is found in Etruria, but of shapes peculiar to Cumae. This is called 'Chalcidian' by Gabrici in his memoir, *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii. Nos. 2 and 3 are two aspects of the same specimen.

Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

From *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii; viz. nos. 1, 2, 3 from tav. xxxvii; nos. 4, 5, 6 from tav. xxxvi; nos. 7, 8 from tav. xxxviii; 9 from tav. xxxix.

PLATE 36. CUMAE. Painted geometric pottery, of which the larger examples closely resemble the painted oenochoae found at Corneto and Caere in Etruria.

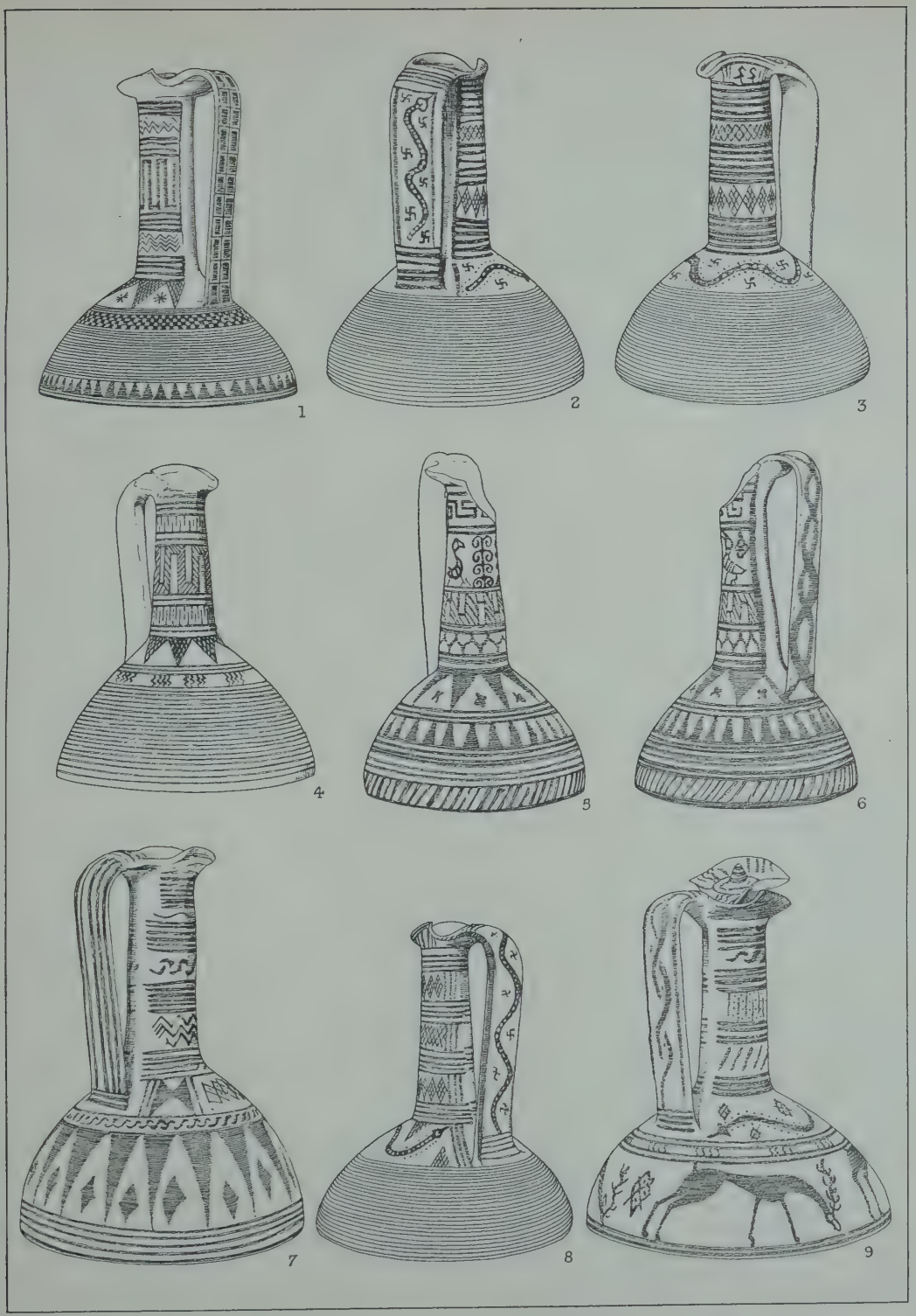
Scale of nos. 1–4 a little larger than $\frac{1}{3}$; of nos. 5–10 a little larger than $\frac{1}{4}$.

From *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii; viz. nos. 1–4 from tav. xli; nos. 5–7 from tav. xxxiv; no. 6 from text-figure 38; nos. 8–10 from tav. xxxi; no. 9 from tav. xxx.

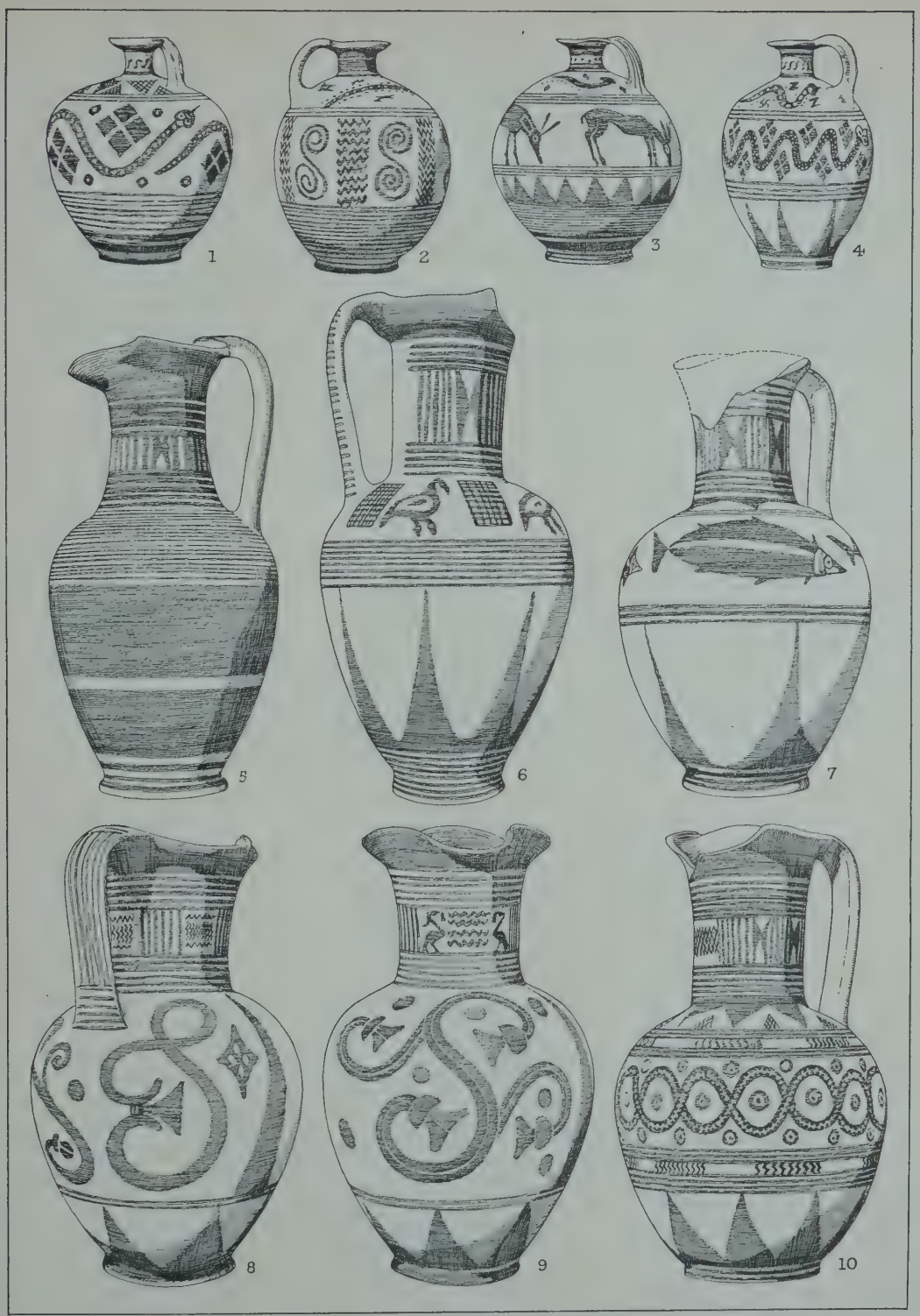
PLATE 37. CORNETO and CAERE. Painted geometric pottery of the same school as that found at Cumae. Nos. 1–3 and 7–9 are from Corneto; nos. 4–6 from Caere.

Scale varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$.

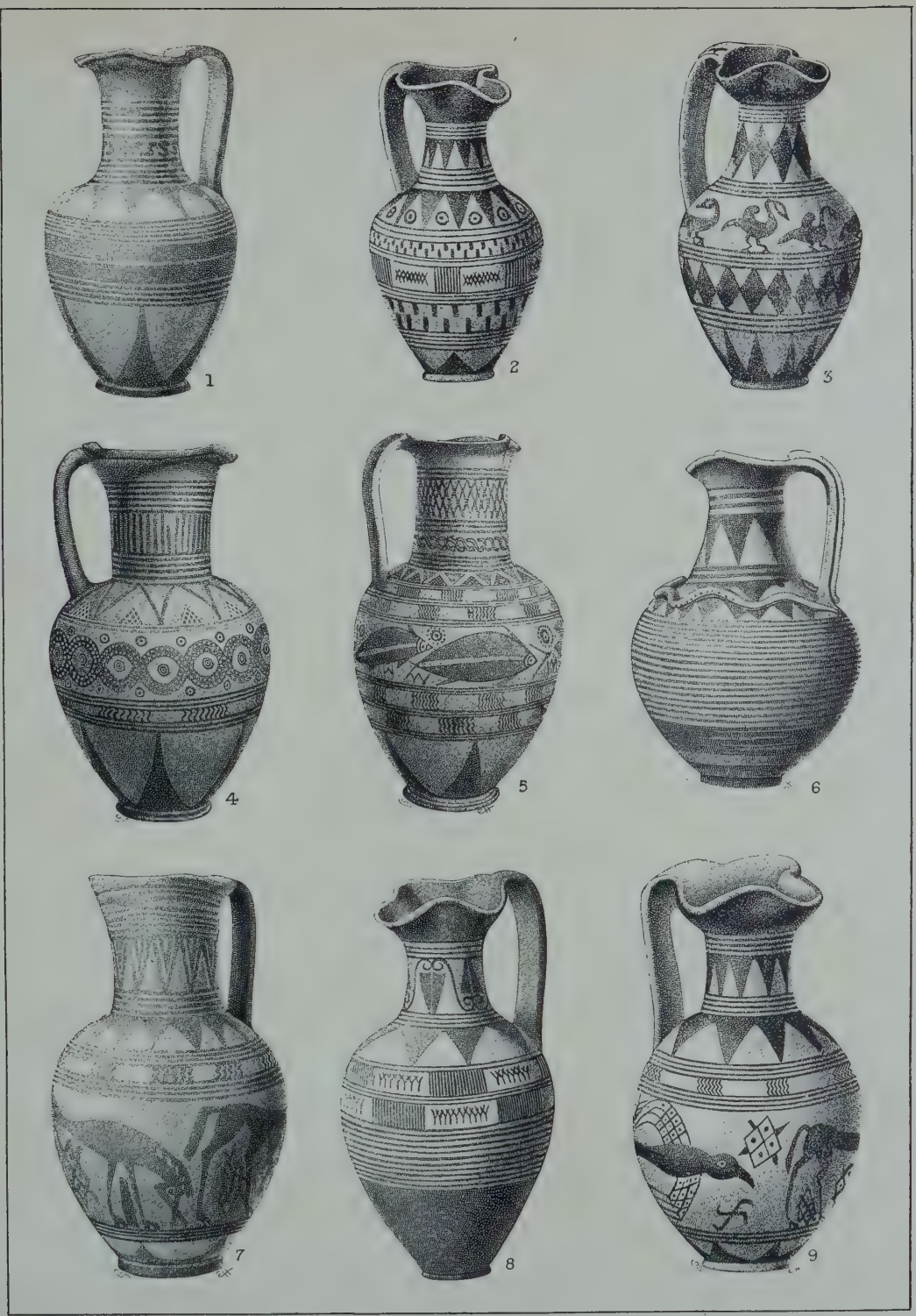
Selected from Montelius, Plates 292, 293, 344.



CUMAE. Painted Geometric Pottery



CUMAE. Painted Geometric Pottery



CORNETO and CAERE. Geometric Pottery of Cumaean Style

The dating of the Cumaean geometric might therefore quite well be established on the evidence of the Etrurian counterparts alone; for when specimens are found which must almost literally have issued from the same workshop they can hardly be different in age. And that this virtual identity exists may be seen by comparing the following two figures of oenochoae from Corneto with those from Cumae shown in Plate 36.

But in addition to this the internal evidence derivable from Cumae itself is quite convincing, for a review of the contents of the tombs other than pottery shows them to be closely contemporary with the famous Regolini-Galassi

FIGS. 53, 54. Two oenochoae of Cumaean style found at Corneto. Scale ¼. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, figs. 146, 147.

group, which I have dated to 670 B.C. In the great Artiaco tomb which will presently be described there were specimens of bronze and gold work which are almost replicas of those found in the Bernardini, Barberini, and Regolini-Galassi series among the Etruscans. And not only the Artiaco, which from its richness might be considered exceptional, but all the minor graves contained silver ornaments, Egyptianizing scarabs, fayence vases, and gold plaques with repoussé designs; an ensemble which is absolutely typical of the seventh century, with scarcely a single object which could be carried back into the eighth.[1] It may be said then that no Greek graves at Cumae can appreciably antedate the year 700 B.C., and that the earliest geometric pottery found in them belongs to the half-century 700 to 650 B.C.

The opinion which I have here expressed is contrary to the view upheld by Gabrici. He clearly points out and duly emphasizes the comparison between

[1] See the inventories in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, cols. 213–71, with the corresponding illustrations.

Cumaean and Etrurian geometric, but he fails to see that this comparison must necessarily rivet the chronology. Indeed, he obscures the whole question by making a chronological distinction, which I shall presently show to be unfounded, between the well-marked decorative style which has just been described and certain other specimens which he claims to be more primitive. On the basis of this reasoning he assigns eight of the Greek graves at Cumae to an earlier period than the rest, and then classes the entire sixty-eight as ' from ninth to seventh century ',

There is a certain plausibility in the argument, and it needs a close analysis of the material to discover its weakness. Gabrici selects all the jars and bowls on which there is only a very simple form of rectilinear decoration, varied occasionally by rudimentary figures of water-birds, and assigns all these on purely stylistic grounds to his earlier period. He does not, however, make it quite clear that this number is extremely small. Still less does he make it clear that most of the distinctive specimens came from a single grave, no. 32. It is worth while, therefore, to examine the contents of this grave.

It contained the high jug shown as no. 5 in my Plate 35, and the three pots which are shown here as Figs. 55–7. Now it is perfectly true that this long-necked water-jug and the aryballos, with their simple ornament of horizontal lines and triangles, recall a very old stylistic tradition derived from Greek imports of the ninth and eighth centuries into Italy and Sicily. But there is nothing to forbid our supposing, and there is a good deal of ground for supposing, that the tradition was long-lived and persisted down into the seventh century. Gsell found pottery with primitive geometric designs to be actually contemporary with the Corinthian at Vulci.[1] In the very latest tombs of Vetulonia and in that of Poggio alla Sala at Chiusi there are jugs and bowls painted with simple lines or chevrons. There is no real reason, therefore, for making any chronological distinction between no. 32 and the demonstrably seventh-century graves of the same site.

In seven other graves which Gabrici quotes in favour of his thesis the pottery is very slight in quantity and quite indistinctive in style, merely a few simple bowls marked with horizontal lines which are not in the least inconsistent with the seventh century. And not one of this little series contains any object different in character from what is found in the other sixty ; the scarabs, bracelets, and other ornaments are precisely the same that occur in graves which no one doubts to be later than 700 B.C.

We must reject, then, the ingenious claim that some of the Cumaean graves are ninth century, and that therefore the ' earliest Chalcidian ' pottery may

[1] *Fouilles de Vulci*, pp. 380–98.

be ninth and eighth. On the contrary, its range is closely delimited, and falls definitely within the seventh century, with possibly a margin of one generation more. Consequently all argument for the foundation of a colony before the eighth century falls to the ground. There is indeed no peculiar sanctity adhering to the tradition which placed the settlement of the Chalcidians about 740 B.C., but, like the traditional dates for the foundation of all the various colonies in Italy and Sicily, it actually fits in with the archaeological facts so far as

FIGS. 55, 56, 57. Three examples of painted pottery from grave 32 at Cumae. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, tav. xl, nos. 2, 7, 8.

they are known without any manipulation, and may be accepted as perfectly reasonable. If founded about 740 B.C., Cumae would still be, as Strabo calls it, the oldest of all the Grecian colonies whether in Sicily or on the mainland, admitting that Syracuse began in 734 B.C.

Cumae not the only Centre of Trade with Greece

As regards the occasional traffic, therefore, between the Eastern Mediterranean and Italy, which had been going on from the beginning of the ninth century, and was intensified by the arrival of the Etruscans, this was in no way dependent on Cumae, which had not even begun to exist. I think it necessary to emphasize this, because an exaggerated importance is often attributed to Cumae, as if it were the sole possible centre in Italy for distributing the products of the Aegean and the Near East. Rather we ought to suppose that there were ports échelonned at intervals all the way up the western coast, at which Oriental and Greek traders made it their habit to call. We may imagine them setting

sail with a mixed cargo for the aborigines, in much the same way that sixteen centuries after Christ a Portuguese or Dutch ship used to start for the voyage round Africa to India and back. At each port of call they would unload some part of their merchandise, and receive whatever was due in exchange, principally iron from Elba or copper from Etruria. In place of the beads, which were the favourite articles distributed by the Portuguese to the primitive African, objects more suited to the luxury of Siculans and early Italians were carried by the Phocaean, Cypriote, or Phoenician traders. Besides fibulae and small trinkets their cargoes included fine work in gold and silver, ivory, and fayence, and a few handsome pieces of pottery; not necessarily the finest contemporary products of the Aegean, but something that would be interesting and acceptable from its novelty.

The original examples of 'Chalcidian' pottery might have arrived in this way, part of a shipload being disembarked at Cumae and part at Corneto. Gabrici makes the useful observation that this ware has never been found between Capua and Southern Etruria, which shows that it did not travel by land. Whether it was actually transhipped at Cumae, or carried on without transhipment to Corneto and Caere, seems to me a matter of minor importance. Once the original models had found their way into the country they were no doubt imitated in local factories, and it is an interesting question, by no means easy to answer, whether any of these factories were opened in Etruria. There are three possibilities; either the Etruscan towns may have continued to import direct from Greece, or they may have manufactured for themselves, or they may have obtained their supply from the potters of Cumae. The first two possibilities have never yet been taken into account, but it is worth weighing them; as in spite of the virtual identity of some examples there is also a good deal of variation in the local taste, and some schemes of ornament are found at Corneto which do not occur at Cumae.

That there actually was a good deal of commerce between the Etruscans and the Greeks of Cumae is shown by several facts. Some of the most distinctive forms of seventh-century fibulae are common to both. A gold necklace and a fibula with pulviscolo ornament from a Cumaean tomb are certainly of Etruscan workmanship.[1] A whole class of handsome black bucchero in Campania,[2] which has never been sufficiently studied, shows strong Etruscan influence, though it is evidently of local manufacture. But the most convincing evidence of close intercourse is furnished by the very remarkable and important tomb found on the Artiaco estate at Cumae. This has been published, not in the same memoir as the other excavations, but in vol. 13 of the *Monumenti*.

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, col. 295. [2] There is a fine collection in the museum at Capua.

The Artiaco Tomb. Its Contents mainly Etruscan

This tomb was one of three which were found on the Artiaco estate at Cumae during the officially controlled excavations of 1902. They were small graves found on the original ground level beside a tholos tomb of masonry over five metres high which was sunk for a third of its height below the original ground level. This tholos tomb, which was an architectural monument of some interest, has been very unfortunately misinterpreted by Montelius as a survival of Mycenaean style.[1] It is really, as Pellegrini has conclusively shown, a Graeco-Samnite erection of the third century B.C. Moreover, it is an error to suppose that any of the three minor graves rests on *the top* of it; they are all to the side and are perfectly independent. The Samnite tomb, in short, was simply inserted four centuries after the others, by digging down through the area occupied by the earlier cemetery.

Two of the tombs were inhumations; they are obviously of the same date and character as the sixty-eight early Chalcidian graves described by Gabrici, containing geometrical pottery and other objects of just the same style. The third, however, was a cremation burial, which is very remarkable and important, as the objects are precisely similar to those found in the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini group of Etruscan tombs. In fact the 'Artiaco tomb', although it is not so rich, must be added as a fourth to that famous trio and considered to have the same archaeological history.

What, then, can be the explanation? There can be no question of anything like Etruscan domination or conquest, for the occurrence is too sporadic. We might suppose that a single Etruscan trader, perhaps the equivalent of a modern consular agent, had settled down in the newly founded Greek colony and brought his tomb-furniture from home, in the same way that an Englishman making his residence on the Continent may be inclined to bring out the mahogany and china to which he is accustomed. This would be a perfectly reasonable theory, but perhaps it is too simple. Indeed, it seems rather a violent expedient to divorce this grave from all the others of the early Greek cemetery, and most students will feel more disposed to regard it, with Pellegrini and Karo, as the burial of a Greek colonist.

[1] *Die Vorklassische Chronologie Italiens*, p. 155. That an archaeologist of such ability and experience as Montelius could make an error of over 600 years in misdating the tholos tomb must seem extraordinary. He writes: 'Folglich ist das Kuppelgrab spätestens im 9 Jahrhundert gebaut worden.' We can only suppose that he somewhat hastily inserted the reference just before his work was to appear, and did not wait for the detailed report. The drawing alone (*Mon. Ant.*, xiii, Plate 2) might easily lend itself to misinterpretation, for the resemblance of type in the architecture is quite striking. But what an object-lesson this is in the dangers of typology!

The grave [1] was a plain oblong of stone slabs ; in the centre of the bottom was a circular depression, in which stood a great bronze basin measuring 67 centimetres in its greatest diameter and 42 centimetres in height. This basin was covered with a circular bronze shield ornamented with patterns in repoussé ; inside it was a smaller bronze basin, 40 centimetres in diameter, covered with bark and leaves over which was spread a linen cloth, originally no doubt purple in colour. Inside the smaller bronze basin was a plain hemispherical ossuary of silver, 26 centimetres in diameter and 18 centimetres high, with a silver cover. It contained the cremated ashes and parts of several small ornaments all damaged by the fire. In the space between the great bronze lebes and the ends of the stone coffin were most of the other objects ; but some, for which there was not enough room inside, were placed in the trench outside the coffin.

Fig. 58. Bronze stand and basin from the Artiaco tomb. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 251.

Of bronze, besides the two basins which have been mentioned, there were two other basins, which had been placed one inside the other and supported on a bronze stand of just the same shape and style as those in the Bernardini and Barberini tombs, though of much plainer workmanship. It is shown here as Fig. 58. There was a group of iron weapons, viz. a sword of the Greek model which is well known at Corneto, Vetulonia, and Narce,[1] a leaf-shaped dagger like that illustrated later as Fig. 65, four spears and four javelins, as well as a pair of iron horse-bits.

Fig. 59. Bronze fibula from the Artiaco tomb. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 229.

Besides the silver ossuary there was an oenochoe, a two-handled skyphos, two platters and parts of a tiny fluted bowl, all of silver.

The small personal ornaments of gold or silver or electrum are extraordinarily similar to those of the Regolini-Galassi group. One clasp of silver and gold is composed of two pairs of tubes fitting into one another ; on each side is seated a group of three little sphinxes, and the two tubes terminate at one end in female heads ; this must be a product of the same workshop that produced the Barberini and Bernardini

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xiii, cols. 225–63. [2] e. g. Montelius, Plates 276, 278.

clasps.[1] Next there are parts of those comb-shaped buckles which occurred at Marsiliana and Falerii as well as in tombs of the Regolini-Galassi group,[2] and finally there are three fibulae, of which one is precisely similar to a fibula found in the 'Tomba del Duce' at Vetulonia,[3] while the other two are equally Etruscan, though one of them is more unusual in character as it has a bifid body (Fig. 59).

A few of the objects in this Artiaco tomb might have been imported from Greece, but several of them are distinctly Etruscan and not Greek. And almost all the remainder are more naturally explained as articles of Etruscan workmanship. This, then, is clear evidence of an active commerce between Cumae and Etruria in the first half of the seventh century.

The indigenous Population. Contents of non-Hellenic Graves

Evidence of the existence of an indigenous pre-Hellenic civilization near Naples has been obtained partly from forty-two graves excavated near the Greek graves at Cumae, partly from discoveries in the valley of the Sarno, the little river which runs into the sea near Pompeii. The results of these are exhibited in two rooms devoted to prehistoric antiquities in the basement of the Naples Museum, and there is a very complete description and inventory of the Cumaean series in the *Monumenti Antichi*.[4] No detailed record, however, has been published of the unofficial excavations in the valley of the Sarno, on the sites of Striano, S. Valentino, and S. Marzano.[5]

Besides the material obtained from these individual graves, which is methodically arranged in tomb-groups, there is a considerable quantity from unidentified and unrecorded explorations made by Stevens, which is massed in one large case of the prehistoric section. This can only be utilized for general background and suggestion, especially as it is not wholly free from the suspicion of being contaminated with specimens purchased in other parts of the country.

It is quite clear that some of the graves in the valley of the Sarno are not any older than the first years of the Greek colony at Cumae. Thus one, from S. Valentino, contains an oenochoe of the regular 'Chalcidian' type, Fig. 60, together with a small jug ornamented with horizontal bands on the body and triangles at the neck, and a bowl of yellow ware with long horizontal bands of colour. These we can now positively state to be seventh century.

[1] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 218, 225.
[2] Ibid., Plate 35, nos. 2 and 3.
[3] Ibid., p. 118, and cf. p. 216.
[4] Vol. xxii, cols. 91–118.
[5] There is a brief article by Patroni in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 41–56, with two plates illustrating some pottery.

A second grave from the same site has an oenochoe with exactly the same simple ornamentation as the jug in the first. And another has an oenochoe with the still simpler motive of mere horizontal bands. So that all three contain pottery which according to Gabrici's argument in similar cases would be eighth or ninth century; but the fortunate presence of the thoroughly 'Chalcidian' example in the first grave puts their real date beyond all question.

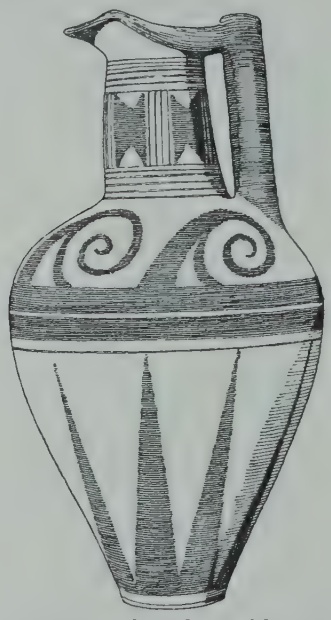


Fig. 60. Oenochoe with geometrical designs from S. Valentino. After a sketch made by J. R.-M. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fibulae from S. Valentino, not attributed to any individual group but collected together as types, show no archaic forms and give no countenance to the suggestion of any earlier date for the cemetery.

Besides the painted geometric ware in the S. Valentino groups there is also black pottery of the regular 'black Mediterranean' technique, some of which is very similar to types found in the pre-Hellenic graves at Cumae, while some of it shows forms that are typologically later. This black pottery forms a link with the only important tomb from S. Marzano, exhibited in a separate case of the second prehistoric room. It contains no painted ware, but a two-handled bucchero cup of the precise style and shape found in tombs of the Regolini-Galassi period in Etruria, as well as a two-handled skyphos that is no less distinctive in character. Consequently this S. Marzano grave can safely be ascribed to about 670 B.C., which is a valuable point as some of the rough black ware in it might otherwise have been misleading. The principal type of this black pottery, shown here as Fig. 61, is repeated about a dozen times over in different sizes; an iron spear, iron axe, and bronze finger-rings are the only other objects of interest.

After making this study of S. Valentino and S. Marzano it is easier to estimate the character of a miscellaneous collection from Striano exhibited in the same room. There are jugs painted with horizontal lines varied by a simple herring-bone and lattice on the shoulder, and there is pottery of the black Mediterranean ware which includes one or two novelties, notably some very large askoi and some four-spouted water-jars. An effective jar, found only once here and nowhere else in the Sarno valley, is illustrated opposite as Fig. 62; its ornamentation is in black on a ground of grey slip.

A fibula of the Adriatic form with quadruple spirals is interesting as an

occurrence in this locality, where it is no doubt an importation from the east coast. Striano, to judge from the exhibits in these cases, is contemporary with S. Valentino and S. Marzano, and may be dated to the seventh century.

In the first prehistoric room of the museum is a case divided between a few specimens from Suessula and from Capua which are not of much importance. The unsatisfactory excavations at Suessula have been described so far as they can be described at all by von Duhn.[1] For Capua there is no

FIG. 61. Fluted jar of black pottery from San Marzano. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$. After a sketch by J. R.-M.

FIG. 62. Oenochoe with geometric designs from Striano. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$. After a sketch by J. R.-M.

information in existence; the pottery exhibited in this series includes some fine specimens of 'Chalcidian' oenochoae and an early Corinthian jug. The fibulae, except for one bow, are of well-known sixth- and seventh-century types. It should be remarked, however, that a small collection of isolated fibulae in the museum of Capua itself contains some much more archaic forms.[2]

The pre-Hellenic Graves at Cumae. Problem of their Date.

To fix the exact range of the forty-two pre-Hellenic graves of Cumae[3] is by no means easy. Gabrici boldly classes the entire series as between 1200 and 1000 B.C. One part of this reasoning, that which depends on carrying the Greek graves back to 900, we have seen to be quite without justification. The rest of the argument, however, which is based on the types of the fibulae, deserves careful attention; and I shall examine it independently, using my own methods of analysis.

[1] *Bull. Ist.*, 1878, 1879, and *Röm. Mitt.*, 1887, pp. 235–75. See also remarks in *Italische Gräberkunde*, i, pp. 549–53.

[2] The attractive museum at Capua has little that is of value for prehistoric studies. It contains, however, the only good collection of Campanian bucchero.

[3] i.e. thirty-six excavated by Osta and six disentangled from the Stevens collection.

By far the commonest kinds of fibulae are two, viz. a massive semicircular bow with thick body and short catch-point[1] and the two-eyed serpentine like Fig. 46. Each of these is common in Sicily, and each is of very early origin, but it does not necessarily follow that they may not have a long range. Actually, in the case of the two-eyed serpentine, it is well known that in Sicily, though it begins in the eleventh century, it lasts down to the sixth. And of course it is Sicily which must be the standard, for it would be quite wrong to attempt to measure by the pre-Benacci and Benacci types of the Villanovans; in the south of Italy the whole association and development is different, and the connexions are no longer with the Alps but with the Adriatic and the Aegean.

In Sicily the thickened bow (*arco ingrossato*) begins to appear simultaneously with the two-eyed serpentine at the very dawn of the Iron Age on such sites as Pantalica, Monte Dessueri, Grammichele, and Caltagirone; while in the third Siculan period, equivalent to the ninth and eighth centuries, it is replaced, as may be seen at Lentini and Finocchito, by the long-shanked bow. In pre-Hellenic Cumae there are no long-shanked types.

But if this seems at first sight decisive, a review of the Cumaean graves will lead to a revision of opinion. For in tomb 36 there occur a gold plaque, a piece of Egyptian fayence, and a glazed scarab; and in tomb 29 there is an Egyptian fayence figure, although both graves contain the simplest sort of bow-fibula. Consequently it must be admitted that whatever happened in Sicily the bow fibula lasted in Campania till at least 800 B.C., as these Egyptian and pseudo-Egyptian imports could not possibly be earlier than the late ninth century, and might well be appreciably later.

The third class of fibula for which a very high antiquity might naturally be claimed is that which includes all types in which a disc is used as catch-point. Apart from later adaptations of the model made by the Etruscans, disc-fibulae are in general among the oldest forms of the early Iron Age. They have been studied at Terni in Chapter IV; but the varieties on that site are different, and far more elaborate than at Cumae. Unless evidence can be adduced to show that the disc-types persisted later at Cumae than elsewhere we cannot help accepting them at their face-value, and classing the graves which contain them as the oldest of all. In this instance I cannot find any evidence of long survival.

One of the disc-types is the 'elastic-bow', known at Vetulonia in the ninth century and generally accepted as a pre-Etruscan form.[2] It was associated in grave 8 with the remarkable shape shown here as Fig. 63, which occurs also at Capua, but is unknown in other parts of Italy.

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, Plates 19, 20.

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 104, cf. Plate 14, or Montelius, Plate 177 and Plate 277.

In nos. 17 and 32 the fibula illustrated in Fig. 63 occurs again, unfortunately with no other distinctive objects except a rectangular bronze razor.

An equally remarkable variety is shown in Fig. 64, which was found in three graves, nos. 9, 21, 24, but without any accompanying objects distinctive enough to assist in the dating. These six graves, then, must be accepted as ninth century or perhaps earlier. In short, the result of a critical examination shows that, whereas a good many of the forty-two graves are of the eighth century, some are probably of the ninth and a few may be older than the ninth, though it hardly seems reasonable to separate them by a very long interval from the rest. In the Stevens collection of general unsorted material are several interesting disc fibulae, including some varieties known in Central Italy, but these are rather doubtful evidence, especially as it is not known what objects were associated with them.

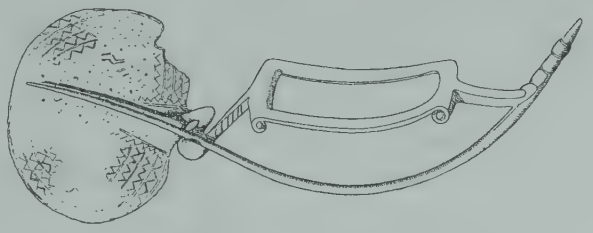


FIG. 63. Bronze fibula from a pre-Hellenic grave at Cumae. Scale a little smaller than $\frac{1}{2}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, tav. xxiii, no. 4.

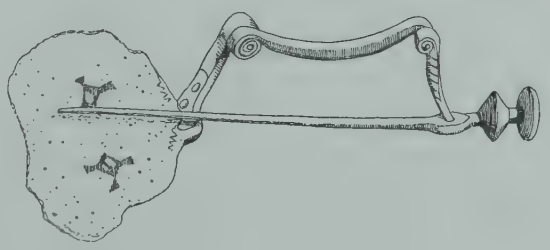


FIG. 64. Bronze fibula from a pre-Hellenic grave. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, tav. xxiii, no. 6.

The most interesting of the tomb groups are the following, in which only the most important objects are mentioned. A complete inventory with illustrations of almost every specimen may be found in Gabrici's memoir, *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii.

No. 3. Bow-fibula; small skyphos decorated with vertical and horizontal lines in black on a yellow ground (*Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, col. 93).

No. 4. Bow-fibula; bronze chain-work; remains of bronze bowls; large glazed beads (cols. 94, 95).

No. 5. Huge serpentine fibula of iron, disc of bronze fibula; iron sword; olla of unusual form (cols. 95–7).

No. 7. Bronze torque, the only example found; two-eyed serpentine fibula; bow-fibulae; glazed beads (cols. 98, 99).

No. 14. Iron chisel, part of iron sword and an iron leaf-shaped dagger shown here as Fig. 65, similar to a dagger found in the Artiaco tomb. Large yellow and red jar with spool-shaped handles (col. 103).

No. 17. Bow-fibula ; serpentine disc-fibulae ; part of a fibula apparently like Fig. 63 ; small bronze disc engraved on the margins ; rectangular bronze razors (col. 105).

No. 21. Fibula like Fig. 64 ; two-eyed serpentine fibulae ; bow-fibula from which hung a piece of bronze chain-work ; small bronze pendants (cols. 106–7).

No. 29. Two-eyed serpentine fibula ; bow-fibulae ; bronze armlets ; glazed beads from a necklace ; two halves of a silver ring ; Egyptian fayence figurine as pendant (col. 109).

No. 32. Fibula like Fig. 63 ; rectangular bronze razor ; yellowish red jar like that in no. 14 already referred to (col. 112).

No. 35. Bow-fibulae ; two-eyed serpentine fibula hung with rings ; bronze stud ; spirals of bronze ribbon ; disc of a perished fibula (col. 114).

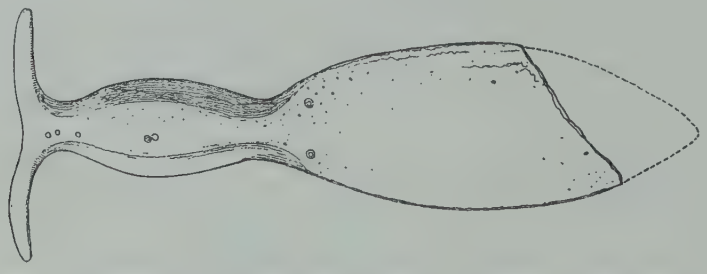


Fig. 65. Iron dagger from a pre-Hellenic grave at Cumae. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, tav. xxvii, no. 4. Scale ½.

No. 36. Bow-fibula hung with rings ; bow-fibula hung with bronze chain-work ; bronze rectangular razor ; small oval pendant of sheet-gold incised with maeander pattern ; Egyptian glazed scarab ; necklace of amber beads ; necklace of glazed beads (cols. 114–18).

The ' razors ' in these graves are to be compared with those found at Finocchito and other sites of the Iron Age in Sicily. They are not related to the North-Italian types. Orsi considers the Sicilian form to be an importation from Greece.

In each grave there was a certain amount of the rough black hand-made ware which is found so generally and over so wide an area that I call it simply ' black Mediterranean '.[1] It may be studied also *en masse* in the large central wall-stand of the first prehistoric room at Naples, which contains the unsorted material from the Stevens collection together with a certain number of other objects obtained later in sporadic diggings round Cumae. It will be seen that there is a good deal of general family resemblance to the early pottery of Latium, but there are also some original forms not found farther north.

[1] Examples in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, tav. viii–xviii.

In the same wall-case there are weapons of bronze and iron, including some fine swords, fibulae, bracelets, and small ornaments. There may be just a shadow of doubt whether all these specimens actually come from Cumae, so that no arguments should be founded on them; but no doubt they may be accepted with a comparative amount of confidence and serve as the basis for suggestions to be tested by the results of any more methodical explorations that may be made in the future.[1] From certain sporadic diggings undertaken about 1903 a few objects were obtained, amongst which some bronze pendants should be noticed on account of their remarkably close resemblance to ornaments frequent in Picenum.[2]

It is a very slender thread, then, which connects the Early Iron Age in Campania with the period of Greek settlement, a thread too slight to lend itself to any embroidery of theory. Only three points—the slightness of any connexion with Central Italy, the suggestion of a certain amount of commerce with Picenum, the evident dependence on trade from the Aegean—may perhaps be said to emerge as features of the ninth and eighth century B.C. before the foundation of Cumae.[3]

[1] See ibid., col. 77, with corresponding plates.

[2] Ibid., tav. xxv, xxvi.

[3] In my previous volume I made an incidental promise to give an account of Caracupa. Since that time, however, von Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde* has appeared, and I am glad to feel myself exonerated from treating a subject which has no very appropriate place in the grouping of my chapters. Caracupa is that very rare thing, a cemetery of inhumation graves within the territory of Latium. Its affinities are all with Latium, not in the least with Campania, and it is quite instructive to contrast the contents of the graves as shown in Montelius's Plate 372 with those which I have been describing from Cumae. See von Duhn, op. cit., pp. 523–9, and the original report in *Not. Scavi*, 1903.

VII

CALABRIA—THE SITES OF TORRE GALLI AND CANALE-JANCHINA

UNTIL the year 1926 the archaeology of pre-Hellenic Calabria was virtually unknown. It is true that some official excavations had been made forty years earlier at Torre Mordillo, but the published account of them was inadequate and incomplete, giving little idea of their general bearing or importance. Moreover, as the specimens had been sent to remote Cosenza they were hardly visited more than once in a decade by any qualified person, and were regarded as uninteresting rubbish by the inhabitants.[1]

Now, however, in a masterly and exhaustive memoir published in vol. xxxi of the *Monumenti Antichi* Orsi has given the full description of his technically perfect excavations conducted during several seasons on the sites of Torre Galli, Canale, Janchina, and Patariti. His account amounts to a revelation, describing as it does a wholly new and unsuspected phase of civilization in the extreme south-west of the peninsula.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of these new discoveries and of the interpretation which Orsi puts upon them. It is very probable that they will mark the beginning of a revolution in all our ideas of the prehistory of Southern Italy. Torre Galli and Canale may become for the south what Bologna and Villanova have been for the north, not merely the focus of a new theory but the permanent standard of reference in all discussions of origins and connexions from the Straits of Messina to the borders of Apulia.[2]

[1] The official account of Torre Mordillo was given in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888. But it appears to have been hastily and prematurely written before some of the most important specimens had even been cleaned sufficiently for recognition. Recently Orsi lent some of his skilled museum staff from Siracusa, who have done some cleaning and restoring, so that a good deal of unsuspected detail has been brought to light. But the whole collection needs to be thoroughly worked over and re-edited. I have not felt this task to be within my range, especially as minute local knowledge would be required in addition to complete familiarity with the original manuscripts and notes. It is a satisfaction, however, to know that Torre Mordillo has now lost all its unique importance, inasmuch as the most interesting specimens are all duplicated on the carefully reported sites described in the present chapter.

[2] I should not wish the reader to give me any undeserved credit for the theories and suggestions advanced in this chapter. My account, though necessarily very much abridged, is only an epitomized rendering of Orsi's memoir. The few places in which I have ventured on an independent comment are marked by the use of the personal pronoun. This Chapter VII, and in a slightly less degree Chapter V, are exceptions to the rest of the book, in which I have freely criticized and re-arranged, as well as venturing on many original suggestions.

The two localities with which this chapter is concerned are some distance apart, and each is conditioned to a great extent by the circumstances of its geographical position. Torre Galli is situated on the plateau of Monte Leone overlooking the Tyrrhene Sea; while Canale, Janchina, and Patariti form a group on the outskirts of the later Greek colony of Locri Epizephyrii near the modern Gerace. So that Torre Galli is in direct connexion with trade-routes leading through Campania, but the Locrian sites are shut off from these routes by the Apennines, and look out immediately to those southern waters which were furrowed even in the Bronze Age by ships from Greece and the Levant.

The very considerable divergencies which will appear in the habits and culture of the two districts are to be attributed in the main to this difference of topographical setting and resultant opportunity. Fundamentally the civilization is the same in both places, and it is even probable that the population was of identical race-stock at Torre Galli and Canale-Janchina. But whereas commerce with the Aegean, beginning long before the foundation of any Greek colony in the neighbourhood, powerfully affected the native inhabitants of Canale, this influence was much less felt on the western side at the more distant Torre Galli. Conversely again, the faint echoes from Central Italy which can still be heard at Torre Galli did not penetrate over the mountains to the dwellers by the Ionian Sea.

The Cemetery of Torre Galli—Nature of Graves

The cemetery of Torre Galli is situated at the south-western edge of the plateau of Monte Leone, 600 metres above sea-level, in a region of precipitous mountains seamed with numerous ravines and torrent-courses. Here there existed continuously from the ninth (or possibly the tenth) century before Christ to the sixth, a large settlement of primitive but by no means uncivilized people, devoted principally to a pastoral life, but practising also some degree of agriculture in the clearings which they had made in the thick forest. Their village, still distinguishable by the foundations of numerous huts, was about twelve kilometres from the modern Tropaea, or twenty-two kilometres from Monte Leone. Its position was chosen with an eye to strategy, for it commanded the main route of communication between the plateau and the western sea coast, marked by a road which was still in normal use less than seventy years ago.

The landscape has probably changed little since the Early Iron Age, except for the diminution in the woods which then covered the greater part of the hillside.

The cemetery had been partially plundered by the neighbouring contadini in modern times, so that it must have contained far more than the 334 graves

scientifically excavated in 1922 and 1923. Perhaps the original number may reasonably be estimated at about one thousand. In form these graves were shallow oblong trenches, and here at once we come upon a striking difference between Torre Galli and Canale-Janchina. For on the Locrian sites the tombs were elaborate rock-hewn sepulchres, consisting of a chamber closed with a monolithic door and preceded by a spacious forecourt. Orsi, however, considers that this diversity of practice may be entirely explained by the difference in the geological nature of the sites. At Torre Galli there is no rock, nothing but clay, so that the grave diggers were obliged to adapt themselves to using the only available material.

The trench graves were rectangular or elliptical, varying from 30 centimetres to 1·80 metres in length, and just large enough to accommodate a single body fully extended, with a good deal of pottery and a few weapons or ornaments around it. Usually the clay sides were reinforced by a row, or sometimes by two superimposed rows, of natural boulders, more rarely by ill-baked bricks. Occasionally when the grave-digger struck a stratum of thick wet clay he used fire to dry and partially bake the interior of the trench. Graves were filled in again with the material taken out of them. No traces remained either of any superstructure or of any stele to mark the place; but it is quite likely that low tumuli or barrows of earth may have covered the grave, and that natural boulders may have been used to indicate its position. It is quite remarkable that none of these graves had been violated in ancient days, although they were neither concealed nor protected, and contained objects which might well have tempted any robber who was not restrained by superstitious fears. This suggests that the country was never overrun by unscrupulous foreigners, like those who plundered far and wide in Sicily.

Rich and poor were buried side by side without any distinction in the character of the interment. Inhumation was the invariable rite, as the one or two sporadic cases of cremation, not more than 2·5 per cent. of the whole number, are certainly to be explained as due to the infiltration of Greek elements. It is a curious characteristic of the site, unfortunately not without parallel in other parts of Italy, that the chemical character of the soil had completely destroyed all human bones. If it had not been for the remains of the teeth, which apparently resist corrosion longer than the bones, it would not have been possible to ascertain the position of the bodies; though the absence of ashes would have been sufficient to prove that the rite was not burning but burial. The body was laid on a bed of twigs and herbs, no traces being found of any wooden coffins. Fragments of pottery scattered on the outside may perhaps be considered as evidence of a funeral feast.

Plate 38

Map of
SOUTHERN ITALY
and part of
SICILY

Fibulae at Torre Galli

Of the objects buried with the dead the first to be considered are the fibulae, on which we are accustomed to rely for the primary evidence as to the date and connexions of any site. At Torre Galli they were much injured and damaged, so that although Orsi enumerates 103, viz. 88 of bronze, 14 of iron, and 1 of silver, he considers that there must have been at least twice as many if all the fragments could have been identified. Nevertheless, his list gives a clear idea of the character and ratio of frequency of each class. In a few of the later tombs, falling within the period of contact with the colonists of Magna Graecia, there are quite definitely Greek types. Among the most unequivocal of these is a silver fibula (Orsi's Fig. 133) of bow shape with groups of bands around it and a long catch-point ending in a knob. Almost equally symptomatic is the little navicella with side-studs and long shank, which was very frequent at Finocchito in Sicily; of this three bronze examples were found (Orsi, Fig. 6). But, apart from a very small number of these obvious importations from a common source, there is a marked absence of coincidence between the general run of Sicilian fibulae and those found at Torre Galli. In short, the fibulae of this Calabrian site show that there was no dependence on Sicily, but close contact with Campania and a certain amount of commerce direct or indirect with Central Italy.

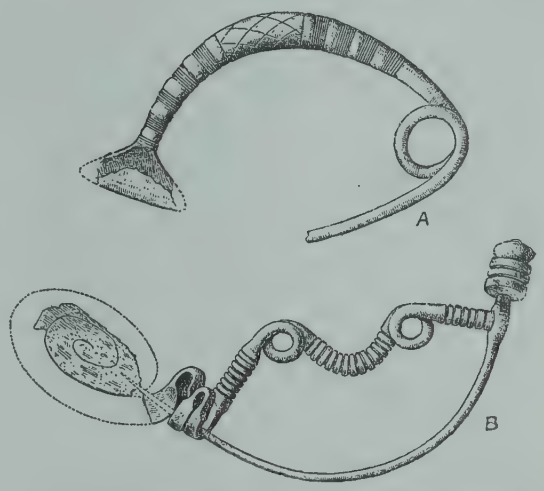


FIG. 66 A, B. Bronze fibulae from Torre Galli. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, figs. 78, 53.

By far the commonest type was the slightly thickened simple bow, engraved with lines and rectilinear patterns (Fig. 66 A), which occurred not less than sixty-four times out of a total of eighty-eight bronze fibulae. Next in frequency were the various serpentine types either in bronze or iron, of which there were fifteen bronze examples. Among these serpentine varieties one was of the archaic harp shape, and four of the two-eyed shape with tubular catch-point, illustrated in the Sicilian chapter as Fig. 46; but no less than ten terminated in a disc, as in Fig. 66 B, which was sometimes finely engraved. Besides these there were two bronze disc-fibulae of the foliated kind.

It is to be observed that there is a complete absence of the really archaic fibulae as known in the terremare or in the cemeteries transitional between the Bronze and the Iron Age. Moreover, even the abundant series of bow-fibulae does not contain the most typically early varieties, common though these are in Sicily. From this it may safely be deduced that the cemetery does not begin till some time after the date of Timmari, and cannot be placed before the tenth century. On the other hand, its latest chronological limit is indicated by the presence of the advanced Greek types which carry it down to the end of the seventh century.

Orsi remarks on the long vogue of the bow-fibula, which he believes on the evidence of Sicilian graves to last down to 600 B.C. This is a confirmation of the doubt which I have expressed independently in my chapter on Campania.

It seems clear that we must not accept the bow-fibula in Southern Italy as giving any certain indication of high antiquity, as it has obviously a much longer life here than in the north. To find such a considerable series of disc-fibulae is very interesting, as hitherto they had only been known in the south from a few sporadic examples. They were absent from Torre Mordillo and were almost unknown in any part of Calabria up to the time of these excavations. Central Italy is the proper home of this class, which was particularly conspicuous at Terni. In particular the foliated varieties seem to be specifically Picene products, and I would suggest that the centre for their production may be placed not far from Terni itself.

Weapons and Implements at Torre Galli. Swords, Spears, &c.

Next in order to the fibulae, and not less important for dating and connexions, are the weapons and implements of bronze or iron. That the people of Torre Galli were of a very warlike habit is shown by the large number of offensive weapons, viz. short swords, daggers, spears, and javelins, found in their tombs. Defensive armour, on the other hand, is absent; there are no helmets, shields, or corslets. A considerable proportion of all this equipment was no doubt manufactured locally, but a good deal was probably imported from countries neighbouring the Aegean, where the armourer's craft had been practised for many generations. The oldest type of weapon that occurs on the site is a small leaf-shaped spear or dagger (Orsi's Figs. 16, 49) of bronze, found in seven graves. It is a type which occurs in the Bronze Age and at the very dawn of the First Iron Age in Sicily, but at Torre Galli the objects associated with it show that it is not older than the middle stage of the cemetery, or about eighth century. Typologically almost equally archaic is the convexo-concave

knife, or flame-shaped knife as it is sometimes called (see Orsi's Figs. 21, 25, 47), of which fifteen examples were found. It occurs over the whole of Italy from the extreme north to the extreme south; but that it is not necessarily very ancient at Torre Galli is shown by its association in one case with a pseudo-Egyptian scarab. Moreover, it has quite a long life even in North Italy.

Short swords with T-shaped hilts form a very remarkable and important series in Italy. Some are of bronze and some of iron, averaging 34 centimetres long with the sheath. The finest and most characteristic specimens from Calabria are reproduced in Plate 39. These swords belong to a group which is derived from sub-Mycenaean types and is widely diffused over Central Italy west of the Apennines, though very rare in the north. Sites on which well-known examples have been found are Corneto, Vetulonia, Terni, Veii, Rome, Conca, Caracupa, Norcia, Cassino, Capua, Cumae. It is 'a homogeneous and well-defined group in respect of ornamentation, topographical distribution, and chronology'. There are, on the whole, more examples of iron than bronze, which of itself suggests that the majority are not of extremely early date. For Calabria, which we are now considering, Orsi considers the limits of date to lie between the tenth and eighth centuries, and suggests that, though the prototypes must have been imported from sub-Mycenaean Greece,[1] imitations were probably made in Italy itself, for which the mines of Bruttium may even have supplied the iron.

In Calabria the most considerable series is that of Torre Galli, but some important examples have been found sporadically elsewhere. Thus no. 7 in Plate 39 comes from Serra Ajello near Cosenza, where three others were also found. At Torre Mordillo there was only one, but the museum of Catanzaro contains three of unknown provenance, while another is known to have been found at S. Leo near Catanzaro.

In the graves of Torre Galli there were four T-shaped swords of bronze and twelve of iron. The form of the blade may most satisfactorily be studied in no. 7 of Plate 39, while in Fig. 67 it may be seen how the hilt was covered with bone or ivory, sometimes engraved. All the handles were made for the grip of a very small hand, from which it may be inferred that the people who used them were of quite small stature. Sheaths were made of wood covered with a thin sheet of metal, either bronze or iron as the case might be, on which were engraved rectilinear designs composed of maeanders, herring bones, and

[1] There were two T-shaped hilts in the hoard of bronzes found at Modica in Sicily, a deposit which belongs to the very end of the Second Siculan period, when Mycenaean types were beginning to give way to sub-Mycenaean.

triangles, as may be seen in nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 of Plate 39.[1] At its lower end the sheath terminated in a knob like a large button.

A fully armed warrior at Torre Galli was equipped with a spear and javelin as well as a sword, and the three weapons were often found together. Spears, however, were more frequent than swords; no less than thirty-one of bronze and eleven of iron were found in the excavations, and the original number must have been much greater, as many isolated specimens have been found and sold by peasants from irregular diggings. Of the smaller specimens, which may be classed as javelins, there were forty in bronze. Spear-heads were mounted on a wooden shaft which, being too long for the grave, was almost always broken in two. The usual type was a more or less elongated leaf-form with a long tubular barrel, in which the wooden shaft was inserted and fastened with a nail near the base. Including the barrel the length of a spear-head varied from 20–41 centimetres, while javelins were 12 to 16 centimetres long.[2] Two examples of spear-heads ornamented with engraved patterns are shown in Plate 39, nos. 4 and 6; these are very rare, the only other known instances in the whole of Italy being one found near Chiusi and one at Piediluco.

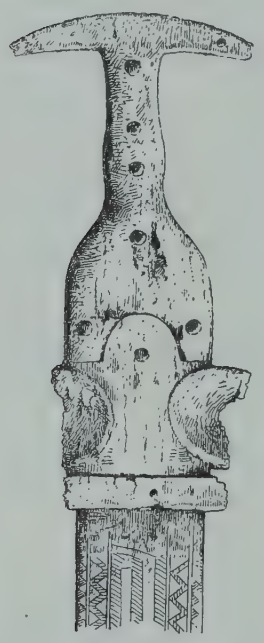


Fig. 67. Iron sword with ivory-covered hilt from Torre Galli. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, tav. viii.

Of the knives, which have been already mentioned, the pointed kind may sometimes have served as a dagger, but the flame-shaped knife was probably made for ordinary household use, especially as it occurred in the graves of women.

It has been remarked that defensive armour was not used at Torre Galli. There is, however, a possible exception. In five graves of warriors were found the much damaged and fragmentary parts of a curiously shaped bronze object shown here as Fig. 68.

In three instances this lay beside the upper arm, and in the other two it was against the shin. No parallel to these objects can be quoted from any site in Italy, but Orsi produces the instance of greaves found at Glasinac in Bosnia,[3] which are exactly similar in shape, size, and decoration. He argues,

[1] The designs are almost identical with those on the swords of Vetulonia and Corneto. See Pernier, *Le armi di Vetulonia*, in Milani's *Studî e Materiali*, vol. iii, and Montelius, Plates 276, 278.

[2] For illustrations of spear-heads, see Orsi's figs. 80, 110, 118, 134. Observe also the fine specimen in his tav. viii, no. 1, with its cross-bar at the base of the blade, just like examples found in the deposit of Adernò in Sicily.

[3] Illustrated in Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst* (1898), Taf. xxi, nos. 6, 9, and pp. 559–61.

therefore, that they are of archaic Greek origin, and must be the forerunners of the well-known greaves of the classical period. If the Torre Galli 'greaves' were not merely objects of ceremonial dress but intended for serious use, the thin metal plates must have been backed with a stuffing of leather or other material in order to offer any real defence.

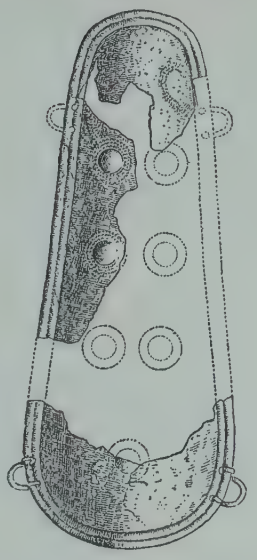


FIG. 68. Bronze object, possibly a greave, from Torre Galli. Scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{4}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 51.

Passing from weapons to other bronze implements we learn that the most important of these are the so-called 'razors'. They were made of such thin metal and were so much decomposed and broken that they were not easy to study. In all fourteen were found (Orsi's Figs. 54, 70, 77, 91), generally of rectangular shape, but occasionally oval; only one was decorated with graffiti. It is generally admitted that the type of razor to which these belong, which disappears from the north after the earliest stages of Villanovan culture, is descended from the very archaic form found in the terremare and pile-dwellings. It is very rare in Sicily, where it is replaced in the Second Siculan period by a rectangular type derived from Mycenaean Greece. There are, therefore, two separate currents of influence to be distinguished; the one starting in Mycenaean Greece which brings in a class of razor that does not go beyond Sicily; the other originating in the Danubian home of the Terramaricoli, which diffuses its particular product over the whole peninsula from the Trentino to Calabria. It is the Italian razor, and not the Sicilian, which is found at Torre Galli.[1]

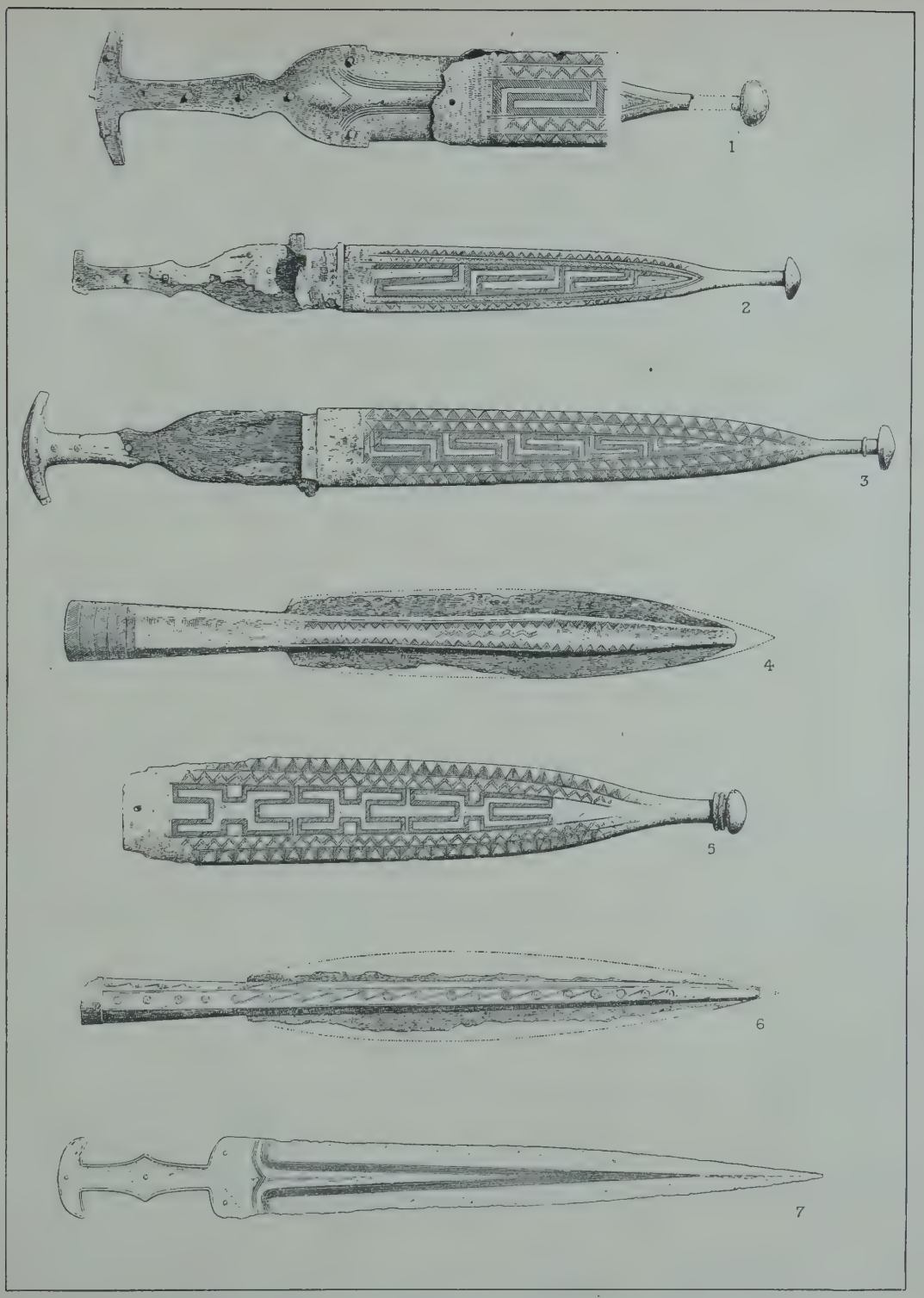
[1] There is a considerable literature on the subject of 'razors', which some archaeologists do not believe to have been razors at all. The best general treatment is by Colini in his account of Pianello (*Bull. Pal. It.*, 1915), though, in regard to the Sicilian type, Orsi's view, as given above, is to be preferred.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 39

PLATE 39. CALABRIA. Bronze swords, iron swords, bronze lances. All from the cemetery of Torre Galli, except no. 7, which is from Serra d'Ajello.

Taken from *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, tav. vii, viii, the drawings being by R. Carta.

No. 1, from grave 147, is bronze with bronze sheath; total length 40 centimetres. No. 2, from grave 36, is iron with hilt and sheath of bronze; length 36½ centimetres. No. 3, from grave 99, is iron with bronze sheath; length 44 centimetres. No. 4, from grave 120, is bronze; length 27 centimetres. No. 5, from grave 206, is bronze; length 25 centimetres. No. 6, from grave 239, is bronze; length 40 centimetres. No. 7 is bronze; length 56 centimetres.



TORRE GALLI. Calabrian Weapons of Bronze and Iron

Ornaments and Jewellery at Torre Galli

Among ornaments, worn principally by women, bracelets or armlets of bronze were common. These are of forms found generally all over Italy, the most usual being a bronze ribbon coiled in spirals varying anywhere between three and fifteen in number. Finger-rings of bronze were rather rare. There were some large heavy rings of cylindrical section which are apparently composed of a blend of two metals, viz. a core of bronze and a skin of some more precious rather whiter alloy. It is perhaps worth mentioning the conjecture, suggested by an article on Swiss lake dwellings, that rings of this kind may have served to represent money values for purposes of exchange.

Small pendants were often made of bronze; they are sometimes in the form of model axes, or of little animals which are quite surprisingly like the clay animals found in the seventh stratum at Hissarlik, but equally like those from a site near Caltanisetta in Sicily, which is dated about 700 B.C.

Amber, glass, glaze, silver, and gold are all materials which were used for ornaments at one stage or another during the several centuries covered by the graves of Torre Galli. Of these the silver objects, viz. finger-rings, earrings, a pendant, a fibula, and a bracelet, are of definitely Greek character, and may be matched by specimens of the seventh and sixth centuries from the Greek colonies in Sicily. They belong, therefore, to the latest years of the native village, when it was being subjected to the peaceful penetration of its neighbours in Locri. Gold, which was extremely rare, and found only in the form of small objects made of thin wire, must certainly have been imported but may have come in a good deal earlier. The bracelets of gold wire found in graves 16 and 18 may be closely matched from Vetulonia and from Corneto; but the total absence of any of the fine goldsmith's work so frequent among the Etruscans of the eighth and seventh centuries is a fact of some importance.

Glaze appears in the form of pseudo-Egyptian scarabs of the class so widely traded over the Mediterranean by the Phoenicians and by the Greeks of Naucratis. Large beads of true glass, either monochrome or parti-coloured, were found in only a few graves, and always in such small numbers that they can never have formed entire necklaces. Rather they must have been interspersed with pieces of amber, which was apparently cheaper and easier to obtain. Amber is indeed abundant at Torre Galli, where it is found in about 50 per cent. of the graves. It may be assumed that it was the usual Baltic amber, which had found its way by the regular trade-routes through the mountain passes all the long distance from Trieste, the principal centre

of distribution. Amber was used chiefly for beads, but sometimes also for small pendants, of which two heart-shaped specimens were found and several in the form of model axes. It is significant that no large pieces were found.

Bronze Vessels at Torre Galli

The art of hammering and working plates of bronze, which was carried so far by Villanovans and Etruscans in Northern and Central Italy, seems to have been wholly unknown to the Calabrians. At Torre Galli there were no bronze or copper vessels of any size, and indeed they are very rare in any place south of the Tiber. There were fifteen examples, however, at Torre Galli of those small hemispherical bowls known to the Greeks as φιαλαι, and there can be little doubt that they were directly imported by sea. Only one bowl of this kind was found at Torre Mordillo, but there were a good many at Canale, where the painted geometric pottery corroborates the theory of their provenance from Greece.

In one grave was found an object of unique character, viz. a cylinder just under 7 centimetres high and 3 centimetres in diameter, made of lead. Lead is a metal of very rare occurrence on Italian sites, though it is not quite unknown, and it may be remembered that both at Este and in Istria pottery was sometimes decorated with strips of lead.

Pottery at Torre Galli

Pottery was very abundant at Torre Galli. Even the poorest grave would have one or two earthenware vessels in it, and one that was fairly well equipped would be furnished with a large set, consisting of water-jar, bowls, jugs, and cups. The clay of which these were made was the ordinary clay of the district, mixed in the case of the larger jars with powdered frit, as is usual with potters, to avoid bursting in the fire. All this ware is hand-made up to the moment when the introduction of Greek models seems to have brought in the knowledge of the use of the wheel. It is fired to various tints of dark red and brown, with a surface which has been burnished and perhaps further treated with resin so as to give it sometimes quite a metallic appearance. In the main it resembles the native pottery of Canale, Torre Mordillo, and all the other sites which are known in the boot of Italy. Certain chronological stages are marked by the growing frequency of Greek models and the copies made from them. Corinthian pottery, for instance, occurs, but as proto-Corinthian is absent it seems to follow that commercial relations with the Greek colonies did not begin until the end of the seventh century. Once they have begun there

follows a period of apparently peaceful intercourse which lasts down to the middle of the sixth century. Taking, therefore, the evidence of the pottery for the lowest date, and that of the swords for the highest, we may infer that the whole life of the village of Torre Galli covers about 350 years, that is to say from 900 B.C. (or possibly a little later) to 550 B.C.

It is very important to observe that the painted geometrical pottery which is so characteristic of Canale does not occur at all at Torre Galli. This is evidently to be explained by the difference of geographical position. The Locrian sites were near enough to the Ionian sea to receive all wares which might be brought by the coastal trader, just as Torre Mordillo, which was a little farther off, received a certain amount, though much less; but there was little or no traffic possible between these traders and a place so distant as Torre Galli, perched on its mountain heights.

FIG. 69. Native pottery at Torre Galli. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, tav. ii, iii, iv. Scale of A is $\frac{1}{8}$, of the others is $\frac{1}{6}$.

The pottery of Torre Galli shows no close affinities with Sicily, but a very close relationship to the pre-Hellenic pottery of Campania, as seen at Cumae, Suessula, and Piedimonte. And as the pottery of these Campanian sites has a great deal in common with that of Latium it is not surprising to find at Torre Galli a good many points of coincidence with Latian style. A sufficiently good idea of the general appearance of this ware may be obtained from the photographs in Plate 40,[1] but there are one or two particular forms shown in Fig. 69 to which I would devote a few remarks.

The fluted jar shown as Fig. 69 A is precisely similar to the pots found in a grave in the valley of the Sarno near Pompeii, of which I gave an illustration in Fig. 61, when treating of the Campanian cemeteries. Again, the dipper, Fig. 69 B, which appears again in my Plate 40 and is very frequent on the site, has the high bridge handle so characteristic of the pre-Hellenic ware at Cumae and of all the Early Iron Age in Latium.

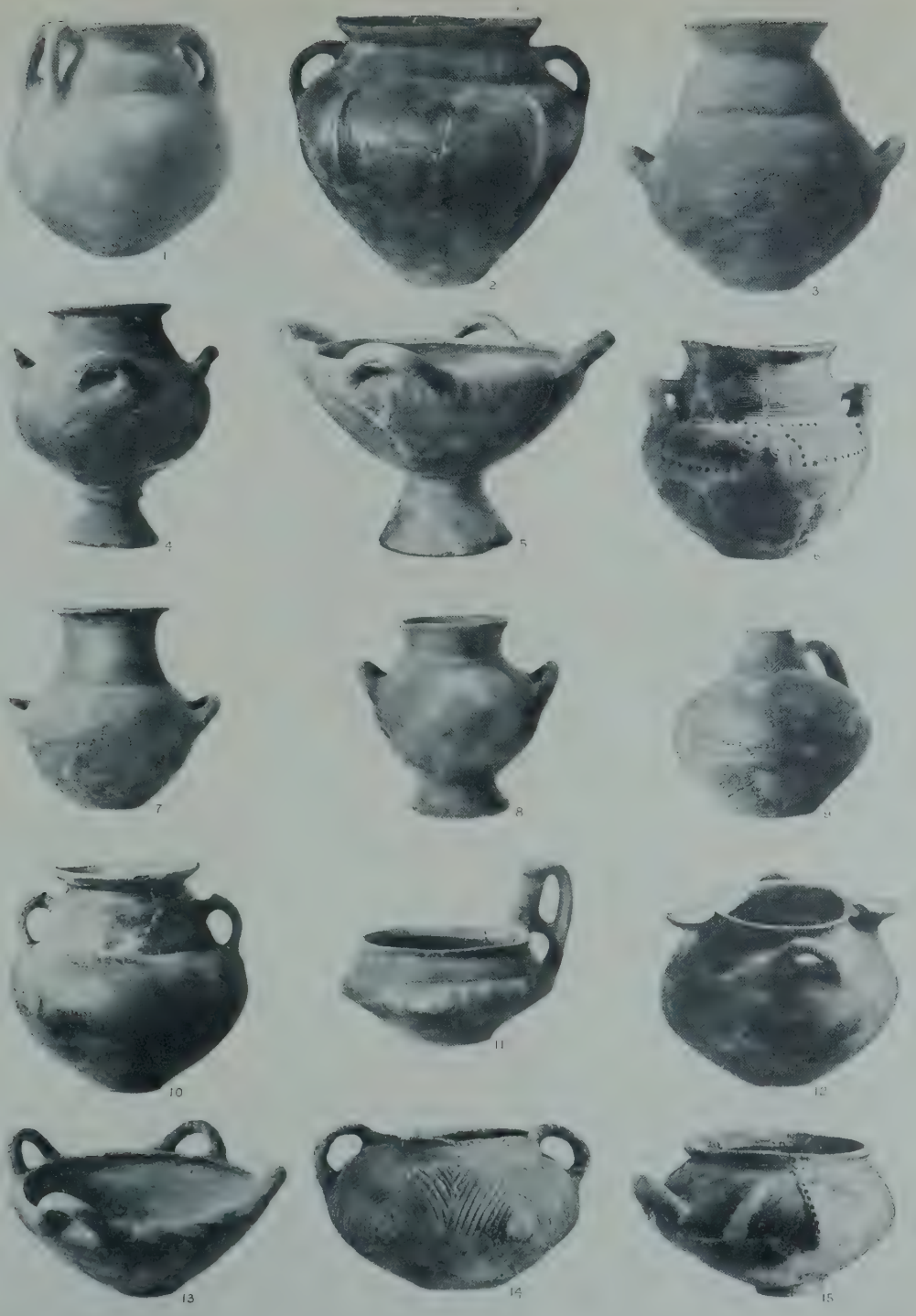
[1] In addition to the illustrations reproduced in my Plate 40, Orsi gives four entire plates of outline drawings (op. cit., tav. i–iv), which should be consulted, together with his columns 186–209 in the text, by those who wish to make a more detailed study. In his columns 191–4, moreover, there are some valuable observations on the primitive ornamentation.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 40

PLATE 40. CALABRIA. Native pottery from Torre Galli (nos. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15) and from Canale (nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 13).

Selected from tav. v, vi, xiii, xiv of *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xxxi.

No. 1 is from grave 47, height 31 centimetres. No. 2, from grave 116, height 30 centimetres. No. 3, from grave 42, height 36 centimetres. No. 4, from grave 41, height 31 centimetres. No. 5, from grave 307, height 18 centimetres. No. 6, from grave 121, height 23 centimetres. No. 7, from grave 14, height 28 centimetres. No. 8, from grave 38, height 22 centimetres. No. 9, from grave 313, height 21 centimetres. No. 10, from grave 56, height 26 centimetres. No. 11, from grave 233, height 14 centimetres. No. 12, from grave 56, height 22 centimetres. No. 13, from grave 38, diameter 37 centimetres. No. 14, from grave 299, diameter 8 centimetres. No. 15, from grave 54, height 16 centimetres.



TORRE GALLI and CANALE. Calabrian Monochrome Pottery

In Fig. 69 C may be seen a jug which has been much discussed and has been made the foundation of theories which I hardly think it can carry. Because it has a somewhat biconical form the occurrence of this jug on South Italian sites was claimed by ardent upholders of the Pigorini theory as evidence that the Villanovans were in South Italy. A jug is not an urn; the form of this jug might be very naturally and easily evolved without the appearance of a Villanovan *deus ex machina*. It is hardly a northern type, being very rare in Latium though common in Etruria; it has been found at Cumae and at Suessula. But in Fig. 69 D and similar jars there can be no question that we have forms like the Villanovan urn, and the fact has a certain amount of interest, though its importance must not be exaggerated. This is the first time, so far as I am aware, that the occurrence of the biconical amphora in Southern Italy has been placed quite beyond all doubt by properly recorded scientific exploration. But I cannot allow this fact to bear the interpretation which would have been put upon it a few years ago by the upholders of a theory which no longer finds such general acceptance since its brilliant protagonists have passed from us. To an impartial observer it must be evident that the use of a similar and not very highly characterized water-jar by the inhabitants of North and South Italy does nothing at all to prove identity of population. It does not even prove identity of culture, for in spite of a certain occasional coincidence due perhaps to indirect commercial relations there is no close resemblance between the several civilizations of Southern Italy and those north of the Tiber. Above all, their burial rites are diametrically opposed. And fortunately in the case of these Calabrians, as will shortly appear, it can be shown that they were of a totally different race-stock from either Terramaricoli or Villanovans.

Apart from the question of ethnical origins, however, which ought never to have been seriously considered in connexion with so small a matter as the form of a water-jar, it is of some interest to see just how much is involved in the finding of this type down in Calabria. I am now willing to admit, as I have never been willing to admit on any evidence presented before, that the form was probably diffused over a great part of Southern Italy. There is no longer sufficient reason for distrusting the several cases which have been reported from widely different localities south of the Tiber.[1] But it must be understood that in Calabria, Campania, and all the regions south of the Alban hills this biconical urn was simply a water-jar; it was never of course used as an ossuary, because cremation was unknown. It was not even given any special place of honour in the grave; it was merely a household vessel.

[1] On the distribution of the type, see von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, s.v. 'Villanova-urnen'.

Orsi considers that the occurrence of the Villanovan type of water-jar in Calabria marks the farthest point of an expiring wave of Villanovan influence. This opinion receives perhaps some countenance from the character of the other rough pottery and from some of the fibulae. But I am disposed to suggest another explanation, incapable as it may be of proof for the present. This is that there may originally have been a common background of tradition and style in pottery-making over the whole of Italy, beginning perhaps as far back as the Neolithic period. This tradition and style would have lasted on into the Iron Age and survived in a greater or less degree in different parts of the country. The genesis of the biconical amphora and of many of the simple bowls, jars, and jugs common to Latium and South Italy might go back to this remote time, when a certain degree of similar culture, though not necessarily a single race, extended over a wider area than in the Iron Age.

Important Tomb-groups at Torre Galli

It will be useful to give an epitome of some of the most important tomb-groups, selecting particularly those from which specimens have been illustrated. I omit the pottery.

Grave 16 (see Orsi's text-figures 12 and 13). On each wrist a bracelet of fifteen turns made of ribbon bronze, and another of only one turn. Two hook-shaped bronze rods, twenty-one centimetres long, probably used in carding wool. Large bronze bow-fibula threaded with amber beads. Spiral bracelet of three turns made of two very thin strands of gold wire. Traces of wood and iron probably from a knife which had perished.

Grave 25. Bronze spear-head, 15 centimetres long, leaf-shaped bronze dagger of very archaic type, 25 centimetres long. Two-eyed serpentine fibula of bronze. Rectangular bronze razor (Orsi's Fig. 16).

Grave 28. Bronze javelin, 12 centimetres long, iron spear, 23 centimetres long. Plain bow-fibula of bronze, serpentine fibula of iron. Iron knife.

Grave 33. Flame-shaped knife, still 26 centimetres long, though broken, with remains of its wooden handle. Two bronze fibulae of simple bow form, two iron fibulae of thickened bow form with remains of cloth adhering. Remains of a necklace consisting of amber beads and three tiny spirals of gold (Orsi's Fig. 21).

Grave 34. Bronze sword with hilt like that illustrated in my Fig. 67. It was 33 centimetres in length and enclosed in a wooden sheath. The sheath was covered with a thin plate of copper slightly engraved; the hilt decorated with ivory discs. Iron spear of unusual shape, 35 centimetres in length. Bronze javelin, 10 centimetres long (Orsi's Fig. 23).

Grave 36. Bronze serpentine fibula with disc as catch-point. Bow-shaped iron fibula. Sword shown in Plate 39, no. 2. It has an iron blade with bronze hilt on which there are traces of a bone covering. The sheath, which is as usual of wood covered with a thin sheet of copper, is decorated with geometrical designs finely engraved. It is curious to observe that a rough flint knife and a flake of worked obsidian were found in this grave.

Grave 41. Five spiral armlets of bronze and one of iron. Flame-shaped bronze knife. Two bronze fibulae of simple bow form. Small bronze bowl, 12 centimetres in diameter. Remains of a neck-ornament much decomposed by oxidization, in which could be detected fragments of bronze chain together with a score of amber beads. Mixed up with this were traces of iron, perhaps representing one or two fibulae (Orsi, Fig. 25).

Grave 45. Three bronze fibulae of simple bow form and one with a ring on it. Tiny pendent figure of an animal in bronze. Over three dozen amber beads. One large green and yellow glass bead of square shape with a hemispherical cabuchon on each side of its four faces (see illustration in Orsi's figure). Bronze small four-rayed wheel, which probably combined with a series of flat bronze rings to form a pendent ornament. Flame-shaped iron knife (Orsi's Fig. 26).

Grave 54. A chip of quartz, possibly worked but certainly deposited deliberately. Four bronze fibulae of simple bow form. A scarab of pseudo-Egyptian style with traces of blue glaze on it. A sickle-shaped bronze knife (Orsi's Figs. 28, 29).

Grave 56. Two interesting bronze fibulae, viz. a serpentine two-eyed form, in which the head of the pin was discoid and the catch-point was tubular, and a large simple bow form ending in an engraved disc for catch-point, unique on this site. A ring was threaded on the pin of the second fibula. Parts of a necklace, viz. four spiral tubes of gold, amber beads, glaze beads, and a small glaze scarab. Also a small bronze bowl and a bow-shaped knife with remains of a wooden handle to it (Orsi's Fig. 32).

Grave 57. Six bronze fibulae, viz. four of the simple bow form and two of the disc class. Half a dozen amber beads; a quadrilateral bronze razor. Small glaze discs from a necklace. A bronze spear, 27 centimetres long, a bronze javelin, 15 centimetres long, and an iron knife with traces of wooden handle, 14 centimetres long.

Grave 65. Bronze butt of a spear. Iron sword with iron hilt covered with ivory, in a sheath of wood covered with an engraved sheet of copper, total length 33 centimetres. The hilt and upper part of the sheath were shown above as Fig. 67. Oxidized remains of a small iron dagger. Copper object of the

type shown in Fig. 68, probably to be identified as a greave. No traces of any spear, in spite of the butt being found.

Grave 86. Copper object of the type shown in Fig. 68, like the one mentioned in tomb 65. Iron sword of the usual type with finely engraved bronze sheath. Bronze spear and bronze javelin. Two-eyed serpentine fibula of bronze. An amber bead (Orsi's Fig. 43 and tav. viii, 2, 3).

Grave 92. Small bronze bowl, 14 centimetres in diameter. Three bronze fibulae of simple bow-form. A bronze flame-shaped knife. Necklace of twenty-four amber beads, of which three were quite large, viz. 12 millimetres in diameter. Bronze distaff. A rude knife of flint and a flint flake (Orsi's Fig. 47).

Grave 99. This warrior's grave contained several objects of rather unusual form. The most remarkable was a bronze spear, 27 centimetres long with a cross-bar at the bottom of the blade (Orsi's Fig. 52). Next there was one of the usual iron swords with ivory-covered hilt and sheath of wood covered with engraved bronze, 44 centimetres in total length; this is shown in my Plate 39, no. 3. Then there was a bronze javelin, which completes the list of usual offensive weapons.

With these was one of those curious and rare objects already mentioned in graves 65 and 86, which might possibly be for protecting the arm, but are perhaps to be regarded as greaves. It was shown above as Fig. 68.

Finally, there was a large bronze fibula of the serpentine class with disc for catch-point (see Orsi's Fig. 53), which is peculiar in having its pin made in a separate piece from the body of the fibula.

Grave 104. Bronze fibula with separate pin, precisely like that in grave 99. Bronze spear. Quadrilateral bronze razor (Orsi's Fig. 54).

Grave 120. The bronze spear, 27 centimetres long, with engraved ornamentation shown in Plate 39, no. 4. Remains of a bronze razor. Lanceolate iron blade, 23 centimetres long, probably a small short-sword. Oxidized remains of a bronze javelin, 16 centimetres long.

Grave 149. Bronze sword of the same type as those already described (Orsi's tav. viii, nos. 6, 7). Small spear-head, 18 centimetres long. Five two-eyed serpentine fibulae, three of which have tubular catch-points, while two terminate in discs (Orsi's Fig. 71).

Grave 158. Four fibulae of simple bow type. Remains of an iron knife. Confused remains of a necklace made up of small tubes and discs of amber, with bronze twists. A pendent ornament of concentric bronze rings of graduated diameter. An engraved bronze disc which had once belonged to a fibula but was perhaps adapted to be a pendant. An iron ring, a glass bead, a bead which had perhaps been silver (Orsi's Fig. 76).

Grave 190. Bronze spear, javelin, and oval razor (Orsi's Figs. 91, 92). Iron sword of the usual type. Fine bronze serpentine fibula with disc for catch-point (Orsi's Fig. 93), and a serpentine iron fibula.

Grave 192. Four bronze fibulae of simple bow type. Several amber beads. Remains of a necklace composed of amber beads with two small spirals of gold. A bronze rod, perhaps used in carding wool. A flame-shaped bronze knife (Orsi's Fig. 94).

Grave 206. The iron sword, of which the sheath is illustrated in Plate 39, no. 5. One of those copper objects which have been conjecturally described as greaves, like that in my Fig. 68. A bronze spear, 20 centimetres long. A large serpentine fibula of iron. A lump of aromatic pitch, which proved to be still inflammable.

Grave 239. One of the 'greaves' similar to that in grave 206 and other graves. The large bronze spear, 40 centimetres long, illustrated in Plate 39, no. 6. One of the usual swords, of iron with the usual engraved bronze sheath, too much damaged for illustration. Bronze javelin.

Grave 278 contained three Greek ossuaries with cremated remains in them. One ossuary contained a fibula of type unlike any of those described in this chapter. With the ossuaries were fragments of a Rhodio-Ionian kylix.

Grave 308. This contained objects entirely of Greek manufacture except for one piece of native pottery. The only silver fibula found on the site was here. There was also an iron fibula on which had been strung two large beads of black glass with white eyes, a heart-shaped silver pendant, and a finger ring (Orsi's Fig. 133). Similar beads and two silver earrings were found in grave 302.

Grave 313. Small bronze sword or dagger of the usual type. Large bronze bow-fibula of simple bow type. Parts of a necklace of amber beads and one glass bead, spaced with spirals of gold. The presence of a dagger or small sword in a grave which is obviously that of a woman is curious; it is, however, so thin and slight as to be rather an ornament than a weapon. In this grave there was a bowl of the native pottery studded with bronze studs (Orsi, tav. iii. 24); the same practice which has been observed occasionally in the Faliscan and regularly in the Atestine pottery (see above, pp. 27, 28).

Canale. Nature of the Site—Construction of the Tombs

The acropolis of the Greek city of Locri Epizephyrii rose on the commanding hill which is now occupied by the mediaeval castle of Gerace. Through the valley below it rushes the tumultuous torrent now called the Fiumara di Gerace, and on the opposite side of the stream rises a group of steep hills on which

the pre-Hellenic peoples had planted several of their villages a couple of centuries before the landing of the Greek colonists. No buildings of course remain from this distant period, but the evidence of household pottery strewn over a wide area shows that there was once a considerable settlement on the plateau of Canale-Janchina, strongly placed in a formidable position for defence 300 metres above the sea, and that there were smaller villages or hamlets at other points near by. The graves were of quite a different type from those of Torre Galli. Only one little group, at lower Patariti, buried in fosse or trenches; everywhere else the interments were made in rock-hewn chambers cut out of the sides of the sandstone cliffs. As the groups of tombs are not very distant from one another and are all identical in character I shall simplify the description by speaking of Canale, Janchina, Patariti, and Scorciabove as if they actually constituted a single site, and shall call this site by the convenient name of Canale.

The whole aspect and geological character of this locality are essentially different from Torre Galli. Instead of being composed of soft clay like the plateau of Torre Galli, these stream-riven hills at Canale are made of a crumbly sandstone which lends itself exceedingly naturally to the excavation of rock-chambers. To this geological difference and to no more fundamental cause Orsi attributes the diversity of tomb-structure at Torre Galli and Canale. He insists on a standpoint which has not always been fully appreciated, viz. that there are always two factors which govern the choice of tomb-construction among the early peoples of Italy—and no doubt also of other countries. One factor is of course the ritual tradition, always observed with the utmost conservatism. The other is the nature of the ground, which may limit the execution of the ritual form and require that it should be adapted to local circumstances. It is impossible to cut rock-chambers out of clay, however strong may be the wish to carry out the customs of the tribe. The difference in the making of their tombs, therefore, does not oblige us to hold that the population of Torre Galli was different from that of Canale; and there are actually so many points of similarity between them that it is far more natural to hold that they were racially identical.[1]

The rock-tombs of the Canale sites are quite elaborately designed, as may be seen from the plans in my Figs. 70 and 71. A forecourt, generally about two metres long and approximately square in shape, forms the vestibule. At its northern end this court narrows to a short passage completely barred in the middle by a monolithic door of untrimmed stone (cf. Orsi's Figs. 150, 230).

[1] Orsi quotes an illuminating parallel from Sicily, where the cemetery of Molino della Badia was composed of trench graves, though it is quite close to another, obviously belonging to the same people, made up entirely of chamber-burials.

Beyond this door is the funeral chamber, an oblong or square room of much the same size as the forecourt or a little larger.[1]

Round the walls of the funeral chamber was cut a low broad ledge, but the centre of the floor was hollowed out so as to form a quadrilateral fossa or depression. The skeletons were laid at full length, with slightly bent legs[2] and with heads to the east, usually in such a way that the head rested on the bench while the body lay in the lower central depression. More rarely the head and body rested entirely on the bench, or were laid entirely in the central fossa.

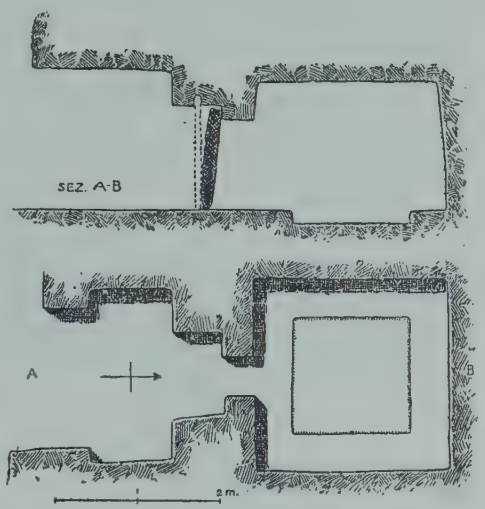


FIG. 70. Plan and section of rock tomb at Canale. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 149.

The funeral chamber was used as a family vault. Out of the seventy tombs which permit of exact observation it was found that only seven were monopolized by a single individual. In twenty cases there were two bodies, in thirteen there were three, in thirteen there were four, and in seven there were five. In only ten were there more than five persons; so that it is clear that the chambers were not used for a succession of generations. Evidently the normal burial was that of a man with his wife, accompanied by their children if they had children. All were buried in their clothes, the warriors surrounded with their weapons, the women covered with their ornaments, and all alike equipped with quantities of pottery vessels for the water and food that they would require in the next world. A detailed description of twenty of the more important tombs with their contents will form the best introduction to a general study of the material.

Description of some important Tombs with their Contents

Tomb 3. The plan is shown in Fig. 71.

A fortunate landslip had protected the entrance to this tomb, which was found with its stone door still upright and in place as shown in Fig. 71. In

[1] There are, of course, variations of size and shape, as may be seen from the catalogue of tombs and the sketches which accompany the description. I am describing what seems to be the normal average.

[2] I think it is rather forced to speak of this slight flexing as a reminiscence of the neolithic habit of contracted burial. In examining thousands of cases of ordinary extended burial in Egypt during all the dynastic periods, I have often found the legs to be slightly flexed. It is quite a natural disposition.

front of it is the covered forecourt measuring 1·90 metres by 1·90 metres; then comes the narrow passage 1·40 metres long, shut off half-way along by its door, a thin slab of native rock, measuring 0·72×0·65×0·03 metres, which had originally been held in position by a vertical wooden stake. The rectangular chamber was 2·22 metres wide by 2·28 metres long and 1·78 metres high, with a flat roof. Round the sides of the chamber ran the divan, 20 centimetres high, cut out of the rock, and in the centre was the quadrangular depression, the two features which have been mentioned as invariable in these constructions.

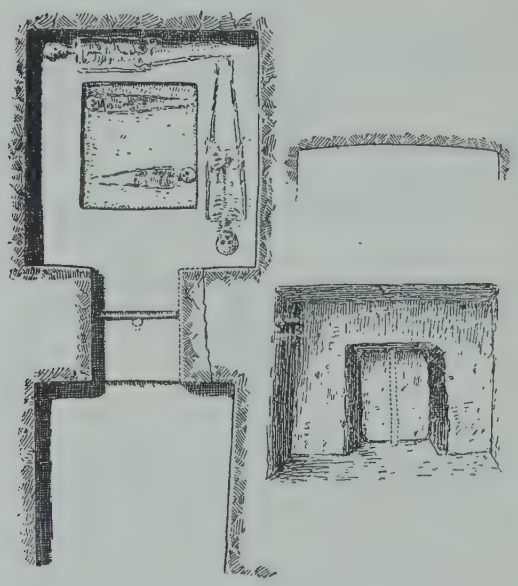


FIG. 71. Plan of rock tomb at Canale. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 147.

The forecourt was entirely empty. In the chamber were buried four individuals, viz. two young persons in the central fossa and two adults on the bench or divan running round the wall. As three different orientations of the body occur in this one tomb I do not think it necessary to attach any importance to orientation. With the adult body on the right was an iron spear 46 centimetres long, an amphora of Villanovoid style and the fragments of a small olla. With one of the children was a very large two-eyed serpentine fibula of bronze, two small boat-shaped fibulae, a ring of bronze wire, and a fragment of small chain as well as two pottery bowls. With the second adult were a clay pyramidal weight ornamented with swastika designs and four clay cylinders. With the second child were a spiral of bronze wire, five small navicella fibulae, two pottery bowls, and a small biconical pottery jug. It is not a valuable equipment, but I have thought it well to describe it in full detail in connexion with the arrangement of the tomb. This enables my following descriptions to be briefer and more concise (Orsi, Figs. 147, 148).

Tomb 4. The plan and section of this have already been given in Fig. 70. There were nine skeletons, with a quantity of pottery consisting of no less than fifty-two pieces, all of native manufacture. The only metal objects were a short iron spear, several bracelets of bronze, and a boat-fibula.

Tomb 9 contained five skeletons, viz. four adults and one child. With the child were the most interesting objects, viz. the geometrically painted amphora

shown as no. 11 in my Plate 41, two small copper bowls were also of Greek importation, a foliated bronze fibula with disc for catch-point (Orsi's Fig. 154), a small spiral of bronze and another of iron apparently used as finger-rings. With one of the adults were bronze arm-rings. There was a quantity of native ware, one or two pieces in which were imitations of Greek shapes (for plan, see Orsi's Fig. 153).

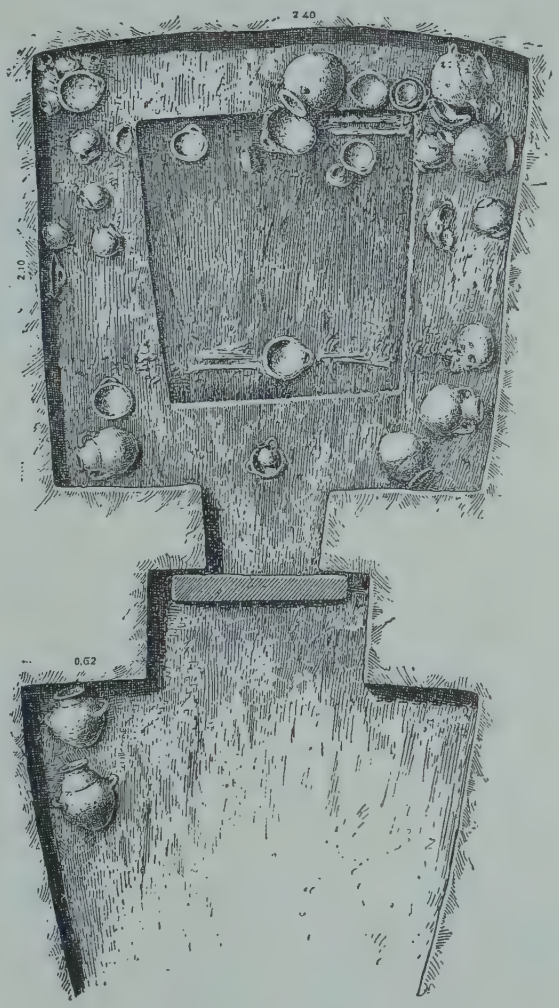


Fig. 72. A tomb-group from Canale. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 165.

Tomb 18. Four skeletons. A fine geometrically painted amphora shown as no. 7 in my Plate 41. Much native pottery (see an unusual fancy form in Orsi's Fig. 159). Remains of an iron spear and iron javelin. A necklace made of links and spirals of bronze, alternating with glass beads and including a single amber bead. Remains of (bronze ?) armlets. Parts of a pectoral composed of several strings of glaze beads spaced by bronze rings (as in Orsi's Fig. 158).

Tomb 19. Of unusual form, the chamber being trapezoidal in shape and without any forecourt. Three adult skeletons and one of a child. Bronze spear, bronze torque, two bronze boat-fibulae and one serpentine, bronze rings (all illustrated in Orsi's Fig. 161). Bronze armlets and fibuletta of wire-bow type. Among the pottery was a small trefoil-mouthed oenochoe of native ware, decorated with incised patterns, and a spherical oenochoe of imported ware with traces of painted brown bands upon it.

Tomb 26. The accompanying Fig. 72 shows the plan of the tomb, which is of the usual pattern, closed with its stone door, which was still in place.

Of the two amphorae in the forecourt one is of fine imported clay and foreign (i. e. early Greek) shape, the other is of native ware and Villanovoid outline similar to no. 3 in Plate 40. There were altogether, apart from fragments, thirty-three examples of pottery, some imitating Greek forms but all of native manufacture, except for the one mentioned and a geometrically painted amphora shown as no. 8 of my Plate 41. Only two skeletons could be recognized. The metal objects were in very fragmentary condition; they consisted of some bronze beads, two small bronze rings, parts of a bronze chain of tiny links, a serpentine bronze fibula, and an iron fibula of unrecognizable form.

Tomb 27. A double forecourt preceding a funerary chamber of trapezoidal shape. Like the last the grave contained a great quantity of pottery, some of which was of native manufacture and shape, some of native manufacture imitating foreign (early Greek) shapes, and some of imported clay and foreign manufacture. The imports were three small jugs painted with horizontal bands, a two-handled cup painted with vertical bands, and an oenochoe rather similar to no. 4 in Plate 41, but with horizontal lines on the neck and zigzags on the shoulder (Orsi, tav. xv. 12); also fragments of an amphora painted with figures of two birds.

There were six skeletons, the bronze ornaments of which were three fibulae of the Adriatic pattern with four spirals each, a large boat-fibula, and two smaller of the same kind, a bow-fibula threaded with discs of bone and amber, an armlet and fragments of others, a head-pin, small rings.

Tomb 37. The unusual case of a large number of skeletons, viz. nineteen, in a single tomb. There were over a hundred pots, the only foreign one apparently being a two-handled cup like that in tomb 27.

Apart from pottery a bronze spear, boat-fibulae and a serpentine fibula of bronze, armlets, fragments of small chains, spirals, finger rings, all of bronze, and fragments of amber were found; which does not seem much for so many persons.

Tomb 41. Ten skeletons. A quantity of native pottery, including two fine Villanovoid jars and the pot shown as no. 4 in Plate 40. An iron spear, four bronze rings, sixteen bronze beads, spiral bronze armlet, bronze torque. Fragments of bronze chain. Remains of iron fibulae which had been threaded with bone discs (Orsi's Fig. 176).

Tomb 42. More interesting for its metal objects than for its pottery, which was of the usual native class. With the five skeletons were the following objects: a copper basin; a child's necklace made of rows of bronze links hanging from a flat band of bronze; armlets, beads, a torque and spiral finger-rings, all of bronze; bronze spiral wire threaded with amber beads at wide intervals;

boat-fibula of bronze with discs of amber on its pin; iron boat-fibula. The most important of these are illustrated in Fig. 73.

Tomb 49. Chamber of trapezoidal shape (Orsi's Fig. 181). Bones of several skeletons. Quarrymen in search for stone had opened the tomb and cleared out all the pottery, but numerous metal objects remained. These were: fourteen boat-fibulae and one serpentine, four rings, a spiral armlet of seven turns, and two others of nine and twelve turns respectively, a torque, links of chain-work, beads,—all of bronze. Also three iron spears and some amber beads (Orsi's Fig. 182).

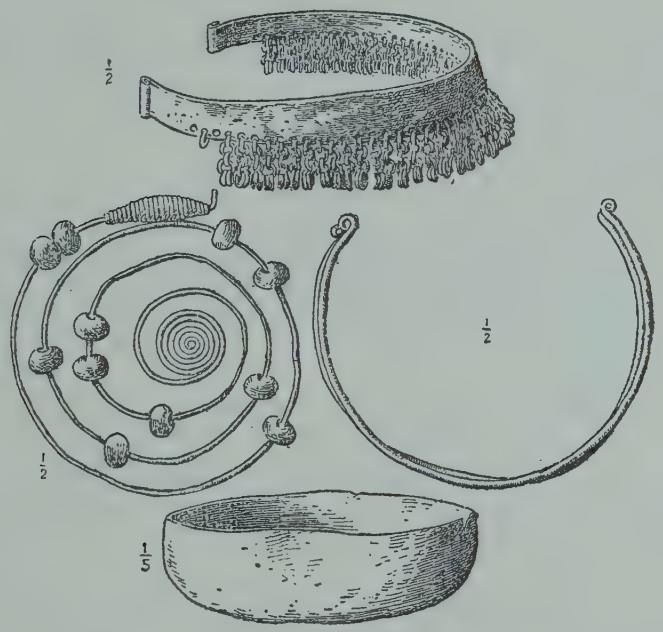


FIG. 73. A tomb-group from Canale. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 177.

Tomb 56. The most imposing tomb of the entire cemetery. The plan, which Orsi gives in his Fig. 186, had two courts of entrance placed obliquely to the funeral chamber. The stone door was intact, but the roof of the chamber had fallen in. In the forecourt were three large native jars, shown in Orsi's Fig. 187, each containing the bones of a young child, an unusual circumstance. In the chamber were eighteen skeletons of adults, three of small children, and one of a new-born child which was enclosed in a Villanovoid amphora. There were ninety-nine examples of pottery, including two much damaged specimens of the geometrically painted ware. The principal objects and ornaments are shown in Orsi's Figs. 188, 189. They were as follows: eight large iron spears; three bronze serpentine fibulae, one of which had a ring with amber beads hung

from it; a bronze bow-fibula strung with bone and perhaps amber beads, and a fibula *a bastoncelli*; iron finger-ring; three bronze torques; numerous bone discs from perished fibulae; bracelet of ribbon-bronze, with small chains hanging from it which ended in twin spirals; bracelet of small glaze beads; a bronze spiral with about fifty amber beads threaded on it; various isolated beads of amber and of polychrome glass; at least fifteen armlets of ribbon-bronze; remains of a pectoral of chain-work and glass beads.

I am reminded of the Picene style of ornaments by this use of chain-work which has been remarked in several graves.

Tomb 57 was another of exceptional size with two funeral chambers. The first chamber had been plundered. The second, of which a sketch is given in Orsi's Fig. 190, contained with six skeletons a great mass of pottery of no special interest, two torques, four armlets, some rings, and a boat-fibula, all of bronze, and a serpentine fibula of iron.

Tomb 89. This is of interest for the group of metal objects found in it, most of which are reproduced here in Fig. 74. There were two skeletons, the first of which was accompanied by two bronze strigils of very archaic form. Close beside these was the bronze basin, at the top in my figure. On the breast were three bronze boat-fibulae and some large bronze rings; by the legs were some bowls and jars of native pottery.

The second skeleton had no less than fourteen boat-fibulae of bronze with it, and two small fibulae of the Adriatic type with the four spirals. Also an object which is unique in the cemetery, viz. a bronze pyxis of cylindrical form, the cover of which is decorated with schematic figures of small animals, perhaps dogs; it may be seen in Orsi's tav. xiv, fig. 5. With the second skeleton were, moreover, a pair of strigils, three bronze armlets, three bronze rings, two iron rings, and some pottery which includes three geometrically painted amphorae shown as nos. 3, 5, 15 of my Plate 41. The strong influence of archaic Greek culture in this tomb is very evident.

Tomb 92. Three skeletons. A quantity of pottery, including the geometrically painted oenochoe shown as no. 4 in my Plate 41, and an amphora ornamented like no. 12 in the same plate, as well as a skyphos painted with lines. With these were a serpentine fibula, two boat-fibula, two fibulae of the Adriatic type with four spirals, a bow fibula threaded with bone discs; all these were of bronze; there was also a large serpentine fibula of iron.

Tomb 108. This contained an enormous amount of material. There were at least ten skeletons, with a quantity of pottery greater than that found in any other tomb in the cemetery. Of native manufacture there were ninety-three specimens (not including spindle whorls, weights, and similar small

objects), and of imported Greek manufacture there were six. The latter were not very fine ; two jugs are shown in Orsi's tav. xv, nos. 1, 3 ; a third specimen was a damaged jug with traces of geometrical design, and another was a tiny amphora with pattern like no. 13 in my Plate 41. Spears of bronze and of iron, boat-fibulae of bronze, copper bowls, spiral armlets, a tiny glazed pseudo-Egyptian scarab, fragments of torques and of bronze chain-work, are all precisely like the objects which have been described in other tombs. The only rare and important thing is a large foliated fibula in bronze, of which fragments only were found.

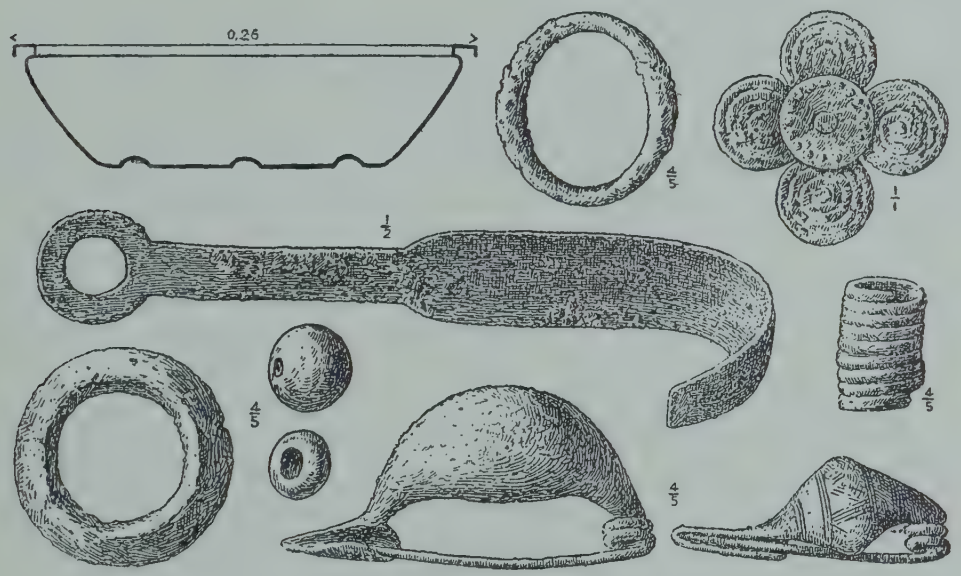


FIG. 74. A tomb-group from Canale. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxxi, fig. 209.

Tomb 112. Ante-chamber and chamber as usual (Orsi's Fig. 222). Three skeletons which lay with their bodies in the depression and their heads resting on the divan. Under the bodies the whole floor was covered with a dust which proved to be the decomposed remains of leafy boughs. This is a plain case of what had been less clearly indicated in other instances, the making of a bed of boughs and perhaps sweet-smelling herbs for the dead to rest upon. The principal objects are shown in Orsi's Fig. 223. They include a Villanovoid jar, bowls, and dippers of native ware punctuated with patterns in dots, as well as an askos, and an imported amphora painted with red bands. Of metal there were an iron spear, bronze spiral bracelets of three turns, a small boat-fibula of bronze, a bow fibula threaded with amber beads and—curious and almost unique at this date—a bronze spoon.

Tomb 116. The plan shows a double forecourt preceding the chamber (Orsi's Fig. 224). Skulls of nine persons with bones in some confusion. Under the bodies had been a layer of boughs as in grave 112. With a certain amount of native pottery, some of which imitated Greek shapes, there was one imported amphora painted with brown lines. The metal objects were a bronze bow-fibula threaded with amber beads, long-shanked bow-fibulae of bronze, bronze rings, spiral bracelets of bronze and one of silver, discs of amber and of bone, a large iron fibula and fragments of others, iron finger-rings.

Fibulae at Canale

The fibulae of Canale, as a whole, are markedly different from those of Torre Galli. At Canale the predominant type is the navicella, large or medium or small; an example may be seen in Fig. 74, but many others have a long instead of a short shank. Out of a total of 181 bronze and iron fibulae no less than 102 belong to this boat-shaped class. On the other hand, the frequency of the plain bow, which was the characteristic form at Torre Galli, has sunk at Canale to not more than 25 out of the total of 181.[1] Serpentine fibulae of one variety or another are 34 in number. There are two examples of disc-fibulae, and nine of the model with four spirals which is an Adriatic type, generally considered to be of Balkan origin.

This contrast between the fashions in fibulae used in the two localities is interesting, and all the more curious because Torre Galli and Canale are almost precisely contemporary. Perhaps the former site may begin a little earlier, it certainly lasts a little later; but during the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries the two civilizations are absolutely synchronous. It would seem that two distinct currents of influence were acting upon Canale, one of which came from the mainland of Italy, the other from pre-colonial Greece. It is, then, perhaps to the archaic Greek strain that the navicella fibulae should be attributed, a suggestion which is countenanced by the analogous evidence from Finocchito in Sicily.

Weapons at Canale

Weapons no less than fibulae show some surprising divergences between Canale and Torre Galli. Thus the short sword was not found at all on the Canale group of sites. The only explanation that suggests itself is that these swords, though originally modelled on Aegean types, were actually at this period manufactured in Italy, and that the stream of commerce from Campania

[1] It is perhaps unnecessary to say that by 'plain bow' is never meant the wire bow threaded with bone or beads. I have included with 'plain bows' four distorted by oxidization.

and Latium reached Torre Galli without penetrating over the Apennines to the Locrian villages.

Spears were very numerous; there were twenty of bronze and forty-one of iron; a precise reversal of the frequency observed at Torre Galli, where there were seventy-one spears of bronze and only eleven of iron. And yet, even if it be granted that Torre Galli begins a little earlier, the difference of time is too slight to explain this contrast. Orsi suggests as a possible explanation that Canale, which felt the effects of pre-Colonial Greek influence far more strongly than the remoter Torre Galli, may have received its iron weapons from Greek sources. It is at present impossible to give any positive opinion as to the time when the Bruttian iron mines were first opened.

If the sword is entirely absent, the dagger is almost absent from the Canale sites; there are not more than two instances, both of which are from the exceptional little cemetery of lower Patariti. Knives again, although so frequent at Torre Galli, were not found at Canale.

Ornaments and Metal-work at Canale

One ornament occurred at Canale which was quite unknown at Torre Galli. This is the torque, seen in Fig. 73, of which twenty-one examples were found. Torques are unknown in Sicily, but a few were found at Torre Mordillo. In Northern Italy they occur at Bismantova, a cemetery of the very dawn of the Iron Age, and they are very frequent, as we have seen, among the Picenes in the seventh and eighth centuries. It must be remembered, moreover, that they are known in Greek tombs of the eighth century.

Armlets of bronze are common just as they were at Torre Galli, and are made in the same spiral form (right of Fig. 74). Necklaces are composed of beads and spacers in bronze, glass, and amber; the proportion of small glass objects is greater at Canale than at Torre Galli, while the use made of amber is distinctly less.

Bowls of hammered bronze, like those of Torre Galli, were found in several tombs, and are no doubt importations from pre-colonial Greece, while the same may be said of the larger basins (Fig. 73), found in tombs 42 and 89. A cylindrical bronze pyxis with schematic figures of animals on the cover (Orsi, tav. xiv, no. 5) is striking and unique. It may be compared with some of the bronze vessels ornamented with figures of animals found in Etruria, notably with one of the eighth or ninth century from Chiusi; and no doubt the whole series may be attributed to the hand of some Greek craftsman. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that in tomb 89 with this pyxis were found strigils of an archaic Greek form.

Pottery, Native and Foreign, at Canale

The pottery at Canale (illustrated in Plates 40 and 41) is of great importance. It falls into two classes, viz. the native hand-made ware obviously manufactured on the spot, and the wheel-made geometrical pottery which is no less obviously imported.

Of the native ware illustrated in Plate 40 it is not necessary to say much. It was found in enormous quantities, in fact owing to the size of the tombs it would often happen that a single burial contained enough pottery to stock a small museum. All the types are shown in Plates 9–14 of Orsi's publication, from which it can be seen that they are generically and often specifically the same as those already described from Torre Galli. There is a tendency to diminution in the number of Central Italian forms, and conversely there is an increase in those which are influenced by models from early Greece. The Villanovan, or to use a more accurate term, the *Villanovoid*, amphora appears and passes through various stages of degradation. The biconical jug is rarer than at Torre Galli; trefoil-mouthed jugs show the growing tendency towards the adoption of foreign shapes, which may be observed again in the transformation of the large jar into a real hydria. Surface ornamentation is slight and insignificant on this native ware; there is scarcely a trace of the rich repertory of North and Central Italy.

The painted pottery of Canale consists only of about two dozen specimens, a number which may not seem large [1] but which represents a very important new element wholly unknown at Torre Galli. The most characteristic are shown in Plate 41, and no one can be surprised at the suggestion that they were imported bodily from Greece. This is an altogether different case from that of the Graeco-Siculan ware described in the fifth chapter. At Canale there is no process of adaptation to native forms; the shapes are purely Greek shapes, amphorae, oenochoae, and skyphoi.[2] The clay of which the vessels are made is not the clay used by the native potters of Calabria; it is a light-coloured earth which burns to yellow and red tones. Over the surface is laid a slip of yellow or pale orange colour, on which the geometrical pattern is painted in matt tints of brown. The repertory of designs is very limited, consisting principally of bands and wavy lines, with an occasional rudimentary maeander, triangle, or rhomb.

[1] If fragments were taken into account, the original number of specimens would be at least doubled.

[2] Skyphoi are not illustrated in my plate. In Orsi's tav. xv and xvi, which shows all these specimens on a larger scale, are several vases which I have not reproduced as being of minor importance, though they complete the series.

Now and then there is a water-bird, single or in a pair; only once is there the figure of a stag. No human forms, even of the more schematic, appear at all. It is therefore a geometric tradition which is quite independent of the Dipylon school.

Proceeding to discuss whether the geometric pottery of Canale has any affinities with other geometric groups in Italy, Orsi points out first of all that it has nothing to do with the Apulian schools described in my next chapter. I would add that in any case the differences of date should preclude the comparison. Next, it has no particular relationship to the Cumaean geometric; and favours different shapes from those used at Cumae. Again, it has no close connexion with the painted wares of Etruria, which we have shown to be affiliated to the Cumaean. Finally, then, the question reduces itself to a single point, viz. whether the Calabrian is in any way related to the geometric wares of the Third Siculan period found on the east coast of Sicily, which have been described in my fifth chapter. If we distinguish between the Graeco-Siculan ware and the original Greek models on which it was founded, there is certainly a good deal of resemblance between the latter and the painted pottery of Canale. Now the Greek geometric pottery imported into Sicily belongs to the ninth and eighth centuries, while only a few examples may come down as late as the seventh. It may be inferred, then, that Calabria and Sicily were importing from the same centres of manufacture in Greece, and that the date of the geometric ware of Canale is ninth to seventh centuries.

As to the actual place of this manufacture in Greece no positive statement can be made. The pottery was certainly brought over to Calabria by the forerunners of those Greeks who founded the colony of Locri Epizephyrii, but these need not necessarily have been Locrians, and even if they were it does not decide the question; for the Opuntian Locrians had a choice of several neighbouring centres from which they might have obtained their cargoes. Orsi is rather inclined on stylistic grounds to favour Argolis, but leaves the matter open for discussion.

The chronology of this pottery may be considered to be sufficiently established by the Sicilian evidence; but if further proof be required it is certainly to be found in the fact that geometric ware is entirely absent from the Greek tombs of Locri itself. This being the case, it becomes a useful factor, though by no means the only one, for fixing the date and duration of the pre-Hellenic settlement at Canale. The foundation of this settlement must be placed about the beginning of the ninth century, and its existence came to an end when the Greeks of Locri expelled the natives from the hills adjoining their new city, an event which took place in the early seventh century, if we

may judge from the archaeological data. Torre Galli, more distant and less accessible, survived as an independent place for about a century longer,[1] and was only wiped out a little before 500 B. C.

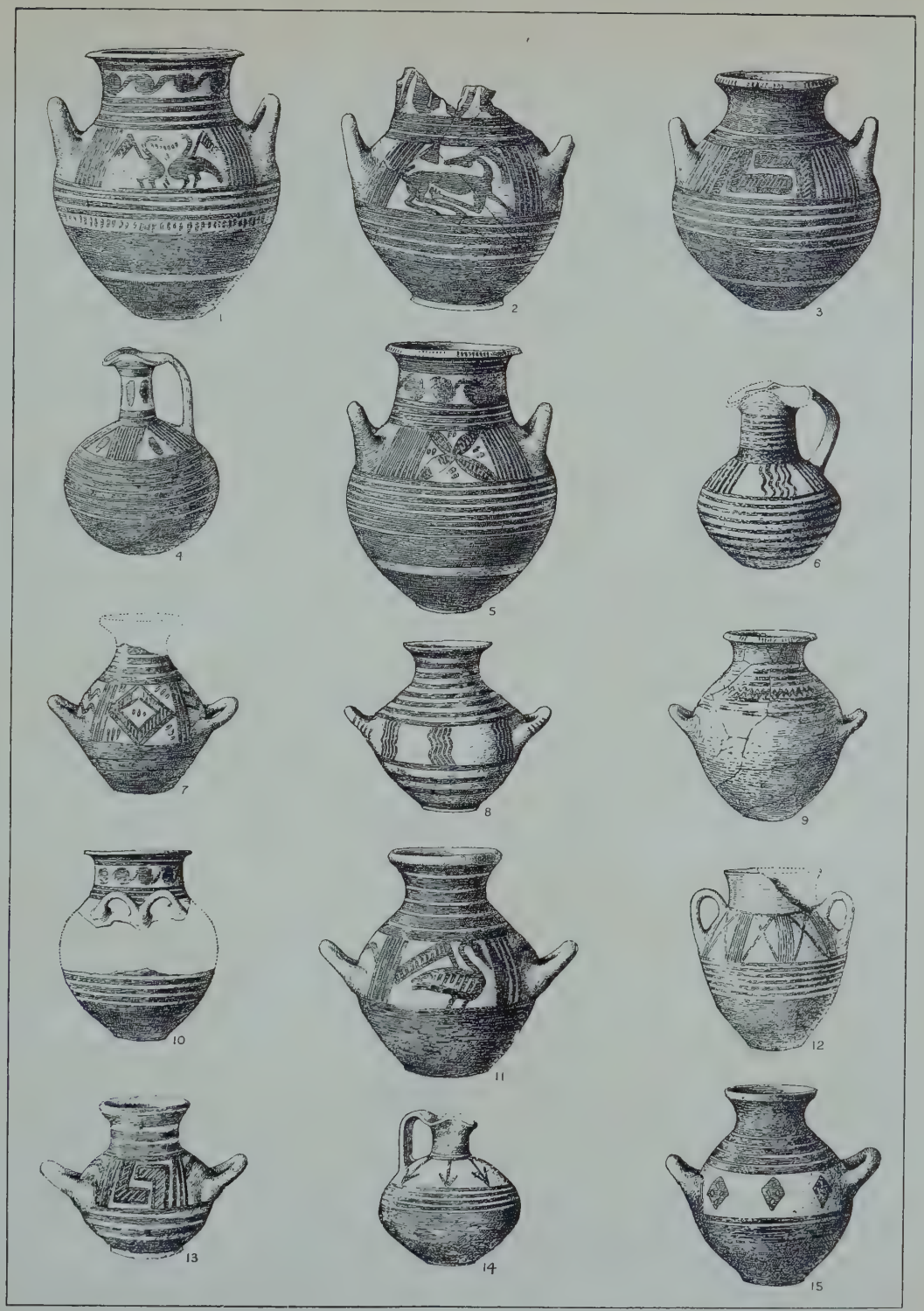
[1] This is shown by the pottery which at Torre Galli goes through the Corinthian almost down to the Attic period (Orsi, op. cit., col. 359).

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 41

PLATE 41. CALABRIA. Painted geometric pottery of Greek manufacture found at Canale.

From tav. xv, xvi of *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xxxi.

No. 1 is from grave 98, height 32 centimetres. No. 2, from grave 21, height 21½ centimetres. No. 3, from grave 89, height 27 centimetres. No. 4, from grave 92, height 18 centimetres. No. 5, from grave 89, height 32 centimetres. No. 6, from grave 9, height 10½ centimetres. No. 7, from grave 18, height 15½ centimetres. No. 8, from grave 26, height 13 centimetres. No. 9, from grave 116, height 27½ centimetres. No. 10, from grave 27, height 28 centimetres. No. 11, from grave 9, height 14 centimetres. No. 12, from grave 92, height 27½ centimetres. No. 13, from grave 108, height 9 centimetres. No. 14, from grave 108, height 18 centimetres. No. 15, from grave 89, height 17 centimetres.



CANALE. Calabrian Painted Geometric Pottery

Independence of Calabria as a Centre of Culture

At the end of his account of the sites and the contents of the tombs, Orsi devotes some interesting pages to general summary and reflection. In the course of his characterization he employs a phrase which has become almost a stock formula with Italian archaeologists, classing the Calabrian culture of Torre Galli and Canale as a ' South Italian expression of the so-called Villanovan '. Now it is evident that for Orsi this formula would be much less pregnant with meaning than it is for the school of Pigorini. He has proved that the Calabrians are not of Villanovan race, and he is at all times most careful to distinguish between race and civilization. Nevertheless, I suggest that it would make for clearness and precision if this formula were wholly abandoned. There are, it is true, and I have made it clear in the foregoing sections, some points of contact and similarity between the Calabrian, as well as the Campanian culture, and the Villanovan. But there are also numerous points of difference which might fairly entitle it to a separate name. My objection to the formula is not that it is scientifically inadmissible—this could not be said—but that it inevitably carries with it a certain atmosphere of prejudice. It suggests, even where it does not state, the acceptance of a general theory which I am no longer willing to accept, namely that South Italy as well as north was colonized by Villanovans. Orsi does not countenance this theory, but his retention of the formula may lead to misunderstanding.

It may be argued that although the race stock is in some cases, as here in Calabria, demonstrably different, yet the material civilization of the eleventh to seventh centuries all over Italy is generically so much the same that a common name may be applied to all its manifestations. This I take to be Orsi's meaning. Colini has used the phrase, ' several dialects of a common language '. It is, I think, still too early to say whether Colini's view will be justified. But just as I have argued that Comacines, Atestines, Villanovans, and Picenes are units so distinct in their individuality that even apart from the question of race their several civilizations ought not to be given a single name, so I would say that the Calabrian culture is sufficiently different from the rest to deserve a title of its own. Perhaps ' Calabro-Siculan ' might be appropriate, now that the racial origin of these Calabrians at least has been finally settled. Possibly we may even look forward to a time when ' Apulo-Siculan ' may be a possible term for another centre of civilization in the south-east.

Siculan Origin of the People of Torre Galli and Canale

The most startling result of Orsi's researches at Canale and the neighbouring sites is the identification of the race which preceded the Greek settlers in the region of Locri Epizephyrii. Polybius [1] had said that they were Siculans; but the ethnological statements of all ancient writers are so confused, and in many cases their good faith as well as their knowledge are so open to suspicion, that this assertion might not have seemed of much importance unless it had been verified by archaeological exploration. Again, it is not often that archaeology is able to bring forward evidence which can prove the identity of any race. Material civilization and physical origin are not interchangeable terms, as already remarked in the preceding paragraph, and it should not be necessary to labour the point in view of numerous modern illustrations. But when it is a question of custom, and especially of burial custom, we pass into the proper realm of ethnology. It cannot be doubted that Orsi has satisfactorily proved that the burial customs of the people at Canale-Janchina, who used rock-chambers precisely similar to those of the Siculans in Sicily, prove them to have been of Siculan origin. And it is not without importance that the craniological results, obtained by Sergi's examination of the few available skulls, bear out this view so far as they go. Calabrians and Siculans alike belong to the Mediterranean race.

For the present it must remain a matter of speculation how far this Siculan population extended in Italy and by what route it arrived there; whether it is aboriginal or of comparatively recent importation.[2] It is just possible of course that it goes no farther than this corner of Calabria immediately adjacent to Sicily. But the numerous statements of ancient authors as to the wide diffusion of the Siculans acquire a new value in the light of these discoveries, so that we must feel that Torre Galli and Canale may be only the beginning of a new chapter in the ancient history of Italy. A great part of Calabria, the whole of Basilicata, and very much of Apulia still remain to be explored, and Orsi has suggested that there are indications of analogous rock-chamber burial over a great part of this wide area. It is useless to prophesy what will be the verdict of archaeology; the impatient historian must await the results of exploration.

[1] Polybius, xii. 5. He reports the Locrians as saying: *Καθ ὃν καιρὸν τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐκβάλοιεν τοὺς καταοχόντας τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ἰταλίας.* Cf. xii. 6.

[2] The views of modern historians as to the migrations of the Siculi, as well as those of Mayer, are referred to by Orsi in his columns 364–6, but I have not thought it necessary to repeat them. Mayer's *Molfetta und Matera. Zur Prähistorie Sud Italiens und Siciliens*, Leipzig, 1924, is, however, an important contribution to the subject.

VIII

APULIA

APULIA is the name of a large province extending from the north side of Monte Gargano to the extreme heel of Italy. In the most ancient times it was divided into three regions, Daunia, Peucetia, and Messapia, a division which corresponds to essential differences in the civilization and perhaps in the ethnology of the inhabitants.

It is owing to the want of systematic and scientific excavation that our knowledge of all this part of the country is almost confined to its pottery. Many museums outside Italy as well as within it possess examples of curious geometrically painted wares, classed in general terms as 'Apulian', which have been the subject of much discussion and of very diverse opinions. In late years the museums of Bari and Taranto and Lecce—especially the first—have formed considerable collections of this pottery, so that it has become possible to study it systematically. But the student is still handicapped by the unsatisfactory character of the evidence. With very few exceptions the cases even in these museums are filled with isolated specimens or uncertified groups, purchased from the owners of the estates on which they were found, unaccompanied by any of the objects originally associated with them. For the solution of all the extraordinarily interesting questions which are involved in the early civilization of Apulia extensive and properly controlled official excavations are an absolute necessity, and it is to be hoped that the proper authorities may realize this before the opportunities have passed.

For about fifty years the problem of Apulian pottery has been intermittently before the scientific public. Furtwängler was among the first to draw attention to it, and continued up to the end of his life to make interesting observations upon the subject. Many others have ventured on the same field, but always until the last few years with insufficient material and without the indispensable local knowledge. It is not necessary to chronicle the details of their premature efforts, since the whole subject has been put upon a new and solid basis by the laborious intensive studies of Maximilian Mayer, whose various publications were united in 1914 into a single monumental work entitled *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisirung*.[1] This supersedes the writings of all previous

[1] Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914. In this, together with a great quantity of new matter, are incorporated the same author's previous articles in the *Römische Mitt.* of 1897, 1899, 1904, 1908. It is a work of extraordinary erudition, parts of which I have used extensively as the foundation of this chapter, though, as the reader will perceive, I have reserved my right to exercise a certain amount of independent criticism.

authors, whether in Italian or other languages, and is to be regarded not merely as the principal but the only authority, except for the recent monographs of Gervasio, the able scholar who has succeeded Mayer as director of the Bari Museum.[1]

Mayer's great achievement has been the isolation and identification of the several distinct provincial schools. This has made it possible to establish a trustworthy chronological system which, as revised and amended by Gervasio, may be considered final within certain quite small limits of possible variation which I shall indicate. New material which has been collected within the last fifteen years has helped to clarify the subject, and no doubt future discoveries will still modify certain details. But the main lines of classification and chronology are now permanently established, and may be accepted without misgiving.

At the outset it will be well to dispose of a widely spread misconception which for a long while obscured all useful treatment of the question of Apulian pottery. It has no connexion whatsoever, either stylistic or chronological, with the Mycenaean or with any Aegean art of the same period as the Mycenaean. It is a product of Apulia, born in Italy of Italian parents and deriving its character from numerous sources. Some of its impulses were always latent in the temperament of the peoples settled on the east side of the Apennines, while others are more or less indirectly connected with the Aegean art not of Mycenaean but of Geometric times.

Next as to the chronology. This admits of a certain amount of debate, but only within closely defined limits. Setting aside the archaic deposit of the Borgo Nuovo at Taranto, and the analogous discovery at Mattinata, it may be stated that no Apulian geometric pottery is earlier than 700 B.C., and that little if any can yet be shown to go back beyond 650 B.C. But as the chronology varies in the different geographical regions, the first necessity is clearly to define the several schools and to lay down their territorial limits.

Division of Apulian Pottery into Schools

The main division corresponds very closely to the pre-Roman division of the country into three regions, called Daunia, Peucetia, Messapia. Adopting these terms with a very slight modification of their strict geographical connotation we may define Daunia as beginning on the northern edge of the

[1] M. Gervasio, *Bronzi arcaici e ceramica geometrica nel Museo di Bari*, being vol. 16 in the series 'Documenti e Monografie' of the Commissione Provinciale di Archeologia e Storia Patria, Bari, 1921. The same author's preceding monograph, vol. 13, on the Dolmens, deals with the Bronze Age in Apulia.

promontory of Gargano and extending to the most southern point in the upper course of the Aufidus (Ofanto) so as to include Minervino, Ruvo, and Bari. From Bari to Egnazia will be Peucetia; while south of a line drawn from Egnazia to Taranto the whole heel of Italy, with Lecce as its central point, is Messapia.

Each of these three regions has its own peculiar and well-marked style, which is so individual that an experienced eye can always detect it and distinguish

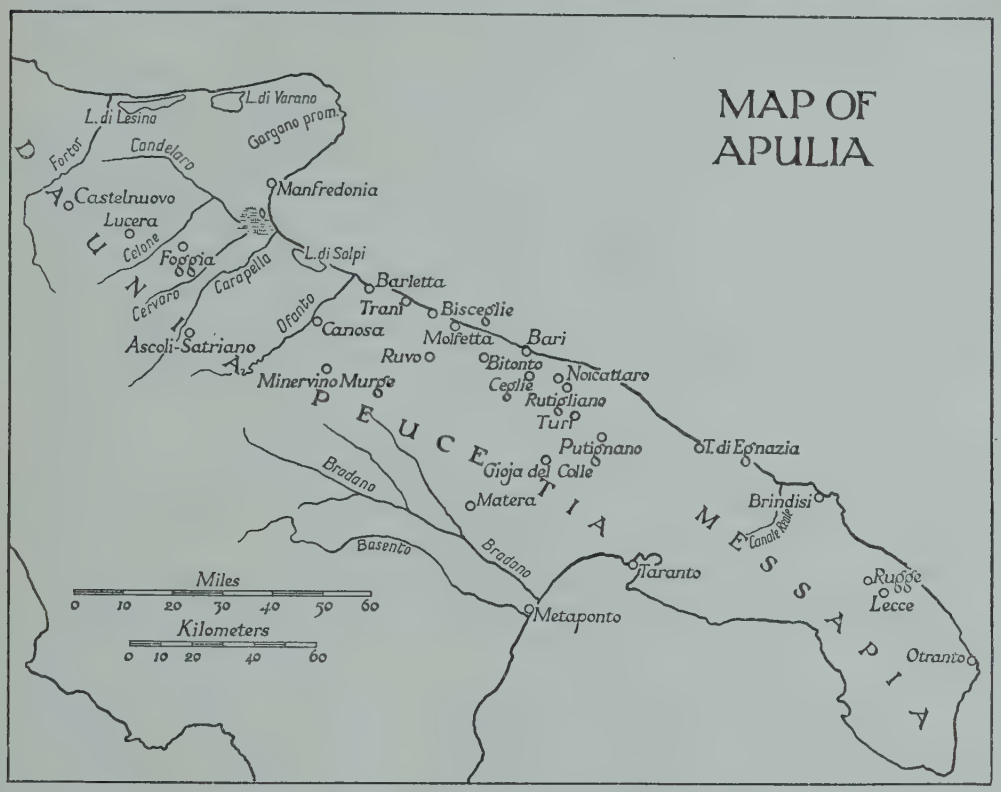


Fig 75. Map of Apulia, to show the archaeological sites.

it from the others. All authors therefore should feel themselves obliged to abandon the ambiguous generality of the term 'Apulian geometric', and should particularize the several wares as *Northern*, *Central*, or *Southern*. The chronology of the three schools is not of course precisely concurrent; so that it is not only ambiguous but positively misleading to state that 'Apulian geometric' pottery belongs to such and such centuries. Actually, as will be shown, the Daunian school runs from approximately 600 to 450 B.C., and the Peucetian from 650 to 500 B.C., while the Messapian is confined to the fifth and fourth centuries. Wholly distinct from all three is a late Daunian school

peculiar to Canosa which belongs to the fourth and third centuries, and may be styled for the sake of clearness the ' Late Canosan '.

Outside the limits of Apulia a certain number of specimens have been found higher up the Adriatic coast, in Picenum and even in Istria, which bear so close a resemblance to the North-Apulian that they may probably be regarded as offshoots of the Daunian school. And in Campania several vases from the site of Suessula seem to have been produced under Daunian influence.

The Geometric Pottery of Daunia

Canosa and Ruvo are the sites which have yielded the greatest quantity of early Daunian pottery, and were no doubt two of the principal centres for its production. It has been found, however, at a number of different places on both sides of the Aufidus, from Lucera and even Teanum in the north to Minervino and Bitonto in the south. By far the largest and most representative series are to be seen in the museum of Bari, but there is a very important group at Taranto, not to speak of numerous isolated specimens in collections outside Italy.

From the point of view of form the most interesting product of Canosa is the two-storied jar with side-handles, of which a typical example is shown in Plate 42, no. 8. Mayer, while indefatigably searching for possible origins and connexions, quotes no evidence for the dating of this type. I noted that it occurred in the group from Minervino Murge in the Taranto Museum, where there is an example very closely resembling no. 4 of Plate 43. This shows that it is in full use during the fifth century, and it may be doubted whether such a strongly accentuated form occurs much earlier. Probably, however, the crater at Berlin illustrated by Mayer in *Apulien*, Plate VI, no. 8, marks an earlier stage, in which the broad splaying brim has not yet attained the character and dimensions of a distinct bowl. It is to the fifth century, then, that we should ascribe not only the exaggeration of the bowl, but also the curious fanciful additions made to the plastic ornamentation of these jars. To the two ordinary ring handles are added a third and a fourth handle of increasingly fantastic character. These take the shape either of an animal's face, sometimes very much like that of a cat, or else of a human hand. The animal's face seems to be the elaboration of a crescent-shaped handle ; the horns of the crescent were gradually converted into something like the ears of an owl or of a cat, to which eyes and a nose were sometimes added to increase the naturalism. The thumbless human hand, which may very likely have had some talismanic value, is repeated again on other vessels of quite various types. These two-

storied jars, if they only begin towards the end of the true Daunian school, continue in full use during the late-Canosan phase, as may be seen from nos. 4–6 of Plate 46, which are not earlier than the fourth century.

A round-bottomed footless crater (Plate 42, no. 7), which I suggest to have been the ancestor of the two-storied Canosan jar, is not uncommon, and may be studied from some other fine examples given in Mayer's plates.[1] More frequent, however, is the crater with a more or less pronounced foot, of which my Plate 42, no. 6, shows a very characteristic example from Minervino in the museum of Taranto. It is a class which has a peculiar interest because it is found also in Picenum. That it persists into the fifth century is proved by its occurrence in the Minervino group, but it is unquestionably earlier in the Novilara cemeteries, and of course the shape was widely used in Italy and Sicily from a quite early point in the Iron Age.

The fourth of the principal forms is the askos, of which two typical examples and a variant are shown in Plate 43, nos. 7–9. Apparently the askos was generally used instead of a jug as the regular vessel for carrying water. Originally derived no doubt from the simple goatskin, it is a form that appears at an early date both in Sicily and Italy, apparently as an introduction from Greece, though it might easily have been evolved without foreign influence. It varies a good deal in size and shape, and continues into the late-Canosan period, when it assumes enormous dimensions.[2]

Besides these four major forms there are two-handled bowls, cups with a high side-handle like Plate 43, no. 6, and platters. These lend themselves particularly to geometrical decoration, as may be seen in Plate 43, nos. 10–12 Also there are ritual vases of very peculiar style, which will be described in a later paragraph.

The greater part of the North-Apulian pottery, notwithstanding its perfect symmetry, was actually made by hand; but for some of the craters at Ruvo the wheel was used. It is painted with decorative designs in two alternating colours, generally red and a dark violet, which are often but not invariably laid on a whitish slip or ingubbiatura. Technique and detail of treatment in the decoration vary a good deal at the different centres of production. The principal motives of decoration are shown below in Fig. 76.

In most of the larger vases there is a uniform method of decoration underlying the variations of detail, which might be described as follows. On craters, askoi, and such of the high cups as afford a considerable vertical surface, the field is first of all divided into two parts by a wide band of solid colour

[1] *Apulien*, Taf. VI, no. 9, and Taf. VIII, no. 8.

[2] Cf. below, Plate 46, no. 7.

placed about half-way up. Often, but not always, this band is surmounted by one or two solid bands of lesser width or by a succession of thin lines. Above these is a narrow zone, which contains such simple geometrical motives as the lozenge or triangle, arranged in panels of varying length, which are separated from one another by thin vertical lines or solid vertical bands. This geometrical zone may then be repeated by another of identical or very similar design, or the space between the geometrical zone and the top may be filled by thin concentric bands. At the point where the handles are set in the design is generally broken by an independent principle of curves or vertical lines on each side of the handle. The most usual scheme is shown in Fig. 77.

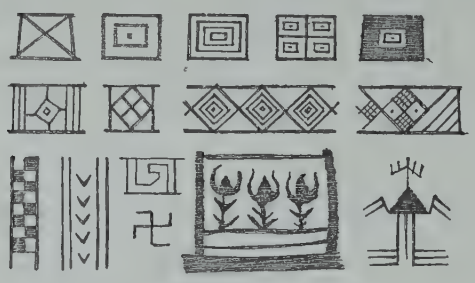


FIG. 76. The principal decorative motives used in North-Apulian pottery.

Below the wide band of colour, which divides the vase into an upper and a lower half, the choice of decoration is much more varied according to the taste of the locality or the individual designer. In the Canosan double-storied jars the lower half is often simply filled with wide concentric bands of alternating colour. Or again, on craters of the Canosan school, the only decoration of the lower half may be two sporadic units composed of concentric circles. But in the school of Ruvo, as well as in the Apulian vases of Picenum, a hanging trapezium often occupies the central space in the lower half of the vase. This trapezium is outlined by a wide band of solid colour and encloses panels of lozenges and triangles like the panels in the top part of the vase. Fig. 78 shows an instance of the Ruvo style.

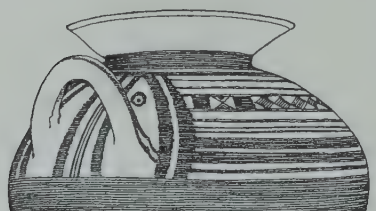


FIG. 77. The characteristic scheme employed in ornamenting North-Apulian pottery.

FIG. 78. Crater from Cupra-marittima. After Mayer, *Apulien*, Taf. 18, no. 9.

On the elaborate ritual vases, of which an example is shown as Fig. 79, three or four new motives appear, notably a series of half-moons which may be called the 'mountain motive' and rows of water-birds very schematically drawn, while the whole partitioning of the field is conceived on a different plan. But whatever the shape of the pottery the treatment is always geometric, and there is no approach to zoomorphism or any kind of naturalism. The

human figure occurs only once and then in a form so diagrammatic as to be scarcely recognizable.[1]

Vases belonging to the class of which an example is shown here from the museum of Bari as Fig. 79 have generally been described as lanterns, which is evidently a misinterpretation of their purpose. Possibly they were intended for use in libations; in any case the term ritual-vase is useful and can hardly be misleading.

Less ambitious examples have the same upright handle and the same spout, but instead of the human figure at the side there is a sort of serpent's neck with a bird's head like some strange antediluvian creature.[2] Such elaborate and ornate pieces as Fig. 79 are very handsome and decorative in their strange barbaric style, which reminds us almost more of Peruvian than Italian work. Mayer illustrates this and another, which is smaller and has no pedestal, in a coloured plate, from which it can be seen that the designs are painted in two alternate colours, viz. black, or dark violet, and red on a background of yellow. One new element occurs in the decoration of this ritual-vase, viz. a row of animals, possibly wild sheep, on the top of the bowl; the same subject is repeated on the pedestal, where the animals are obviously moving among their own hills represented by the 'mountain motive'. On the side opposite to the spout is a female figure moulded in the round, exhibiting what is probably the ceremonial dress of a priestess or a woman of important rank. Around the brow is a high fillet, and long plaits of hair hang down on the shoulders; the ears are covered each with a circular disc. A long pendent ornament of circular discs hangs down in front, and there are indications of a necklace,[3] composed of three separate strands. Over the eyes is a black mask which comes down to the nose. The dress consists of two parts, a jacket and a skirt which seems to be gathered into pleats. It has been suggested that the painted

FIG. 79. Daunian ritual-vase in museum of Bari. After Mayer, *Apulien*, Taf. I, no. 2.

[1] This is on two sherds representing a flock of geese with the goose-herd tending them (Mayer, *Apulien*, Plate XVI).

[2] Mayer, Taf. XI, no. 13; XII, no. 18; XIII, nos. 7 and 11; XIV, no. 1.

[3] This appears more clearly in the smaller vase (Mayer, *Apulien*, Taf. I, no. 1). There is a fine example of the same style in the British Museum.

circles on the cheeks may be intended to represent tattooing. The date assigned to these figures by Mayer is not earlier than the fifth century.

Elsewhere, in regard to the chronology of the whole series of Daunian pottery, Mayer conveys his opinion rather in hints and incidental remarks than in any formal argument. He is inclined to speak of one specimen or style as being earlier or later without precisely defining his standard. It is satisfactory, however, to have his clear statement that he accepts the finds at Minervino Murge as proving that some of the most characteristic examples come down into the fifth century. Certainly it is difficult to explain away this evidence. In the courtyard of a house, a space so small that we cannot reasonably suppose it to have contained objects widely different in date,[1] were found Greek pottery, Daunian pottery, and fibulae. The entire find from Minervino is exhibited together in a single case on the ground-floor of the museum at Taranto. None of the Greek pottery, which is of the advanced red-figure class, could be earlier than the fifth century; while the fibulae with their long catch-points ending in a knob are of types quite proper to the same century. And the Daunian vases found with this set are two-storied jars with cat-faced handles closely resembling no. 4 in Plate 43, askoi with the standard decoration scheme of bands combined with a geometrical panel, and two craters closely resembling one another, of which one is shown in Plate 42, no. 6. Now this is a thoroughly representative group of North-Apulian pottery, and unless we entirely refuse all credence to the careful and experienced scholar who vouches for it, we must admit that the lower limit of dating for the Daunian wares in general is 450 B.C.

Next we must attempt to fix the upper limit. Mayer points out that the Minervino craters show a more practised hand, and greater expertness in dealing with the decorative motives, than similar craters from Canosa. This is certainly true, but is hardly sufficient by itself to be a very cogent argument. I should prefer to apply another method of reasoning, namely a comparison with the geometric ware found at Novilara, where there was one crater so like those of Ruvo that it must be nearly contemporary. At Novilara these pots are proved by the whole character of the cemetery to be little if at all later than 600 B.C.[2] Accordingly I would give the general range of the Daunian geometric pottery as between 600 and 450 B.C., while pointing out that some particular types such as the two-storied jars and the ritual-vases are confined to the second half of this period.

[1] This is the statement made to me verbally by Dr. Quagliati.

[2] For the Novilara specimens, see above, p. 123, and Plate 25, no. 19.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 42, 43

PLATE 42. NORTHERN APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Daunian schools. Nos. 1 and 2 are from Ruvo; nos. 3, 4, 5 from Ascoli-Satriano; no. 6 from Minervino Murge; no. 8 from Canosa; the provenance of no. 7 is not known.

Selected from Mayer, *Apulien*, viz. nos. 1, 2, 7 from Tafel 6; nos. 5, 6, 8 from Tafel 7; no. 4 from Tafel 8; no. 3 from p. 111.

Dimensions as follows: No. 1 is 30 centimetres high; no. 2 is 32 centimetres; for nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 no dimensions are stated; no. 7 is 33 centimetres high.

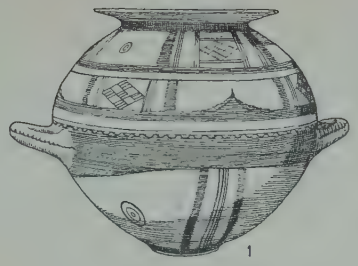
Nos. 1 and 2 are in the Museo Jatta at Ruvo (probably destined for Bari); nos. 3, 4, 5 are at Bari; no. 6 is at Taranto; no. 7 at Berlin; no. 8 at Heidelberg.

PLATE 43. NORTHERN APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Daunian schools. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 12 are from Canosa; no. 3 from Ruvo; nos. 8 and 11 from Ascoli-Satriano; no. 9 from Barletta; the provenance of the rest is unknown.

Selected from Mayer, *Apulien*, viz. nos. 1 and 4 from Tafel 7; nos. 2, 5, 6 from Tafel 8; no. 3 from Tafel 14; no. 7 from Tafel 16; nos. 8, 11, 12 from Tafel 15; no. 9 from Tafel 10; no. 10 from Tafel 9.

Dimensions as follows: no. 1 is 13 centimetres high; no. 2 is 9 centimetres high; no. 6 is 14 centimetres high; no. 7 is 13 centimetres high; for the remainder there is no statement.

Nos. 1, 12 are at Hamburg; nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 are at Bari; no. 3 is in the Museo Jatta at Ruvo; no. 5 is at Naples; no. 7 is at Marseilles.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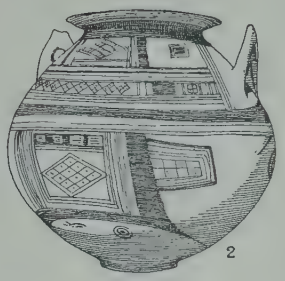
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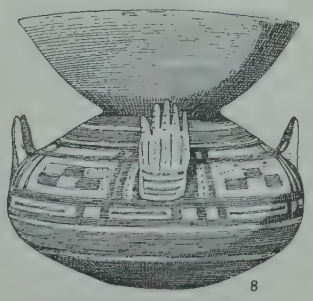
8

NORTHERN APULIA. Pottery of the Daunian Schools

NORTHERN APULIA. Pottery of the Daunian Schools

The Geometric Pottery of Peucetia

The geometric pottery of Central Apulia differs radically in its genius and general character from that of Daunia. It consists of two main classes, the second of which was almost unknown to Mayer, and has only recently been brought into the field of study through the discoveries at Monte Sannace near Gioia del Colle, described by Gervasio. This is a brilliant local style, painted in bichrome, red and black, contemporary with the imported Corinthian and considerably influenced by Corinthian models. Leaving it to be treated in a later section I will first consider the wares painted in black on a background of white slip, which are the product of a group of sites centring round Bari. The most numerous series have so far been obtained from Ceglie, Valenzano, and Canneto, while Rutigliano, Barletta, and Noicattaro have all furnished important examples. A considerable number of those found at Canneto are to be seen in Taranto, but the collections at Bari have now become so large that the entire subject may more profitably be studied there. It is in Bari also that the contents of the few intact tombs have been housed, including the four important examples from Noicattaro.[1]

In contrast with the varied fancy and versatility of the Daunians the potters of Central Apulia seem remarkably sober and restrained. Of all the exaggerated and fantastic forms, which have been observed especially at Canosa, there is here no trace. Craters, bowls, jugs, and stamnoi are the only types employed ; and the decoration upon them is at once simple and finely designed. The Peucetians are less ingenious and fanciful than their northern neighbours, but their artistic taste is much purer.

There are four principal motives in the black-and-white pottery, of which two occur so frequently and prominently as to overshadow the others. These are the comb and the swastika.

The comb occupies much the same place in this scheme of decoration as the hanging trapezium occupied in the Daunian school. It is the constant device used for filling the lower half of the field on all the large craters. Generally it is combined with the swastika, as may be seen in examples from almost every site, e. g. Plate 44, nos. 2, 6, and Plate 45, no. 1. Sometimes the space between a pair of combs is filled not with a swastika but with a panel of cross-hatched lozenges or a chessboard, less often with a circle or a clepsydra.

[1] The newly arranged museum at Bari has now become a very important place for study. Visitors will do well to announce their coming beforehand, as at present the collections are only open to the general public on three mornings in the week, and the courteous Director has many official duties which may occasion his temporary absence.

Distinctly less common and employed rather on cups and bowls is the Maltese cross. Finally, in nos. 1 and 4 of Plate 44 there may be observed a festoon device, and on pottery associated with the Corinthian there is often a square maeander.

I scarcely think it is necessary or useful to conduct a minute inquiry into the origin and connexions of this 'comb', and to search for peoples who merely because they wore combs are to be claimed as relatives of the Peucetians. As used in this chapter the term is merely a convenient nickname for a motive which may be nothing more significant than a formalized conjunction of bands with wide margins. The swastika is more interesting, and will no doubt be seized upon by the mystery-mongers of an obscurantist literature which is already too extensive. Here it is sufficient to point out that it occurs at approximately the same date on much of the Arnoaldi pottery at Bologna, as well as on pottery of the Third Period at Este. Its wide diffusion, and the close coincidence of dates, suggest that the swastika came in on a broad wave of foreign influence issuing rather from the north and north-east than from the Mediterranean.

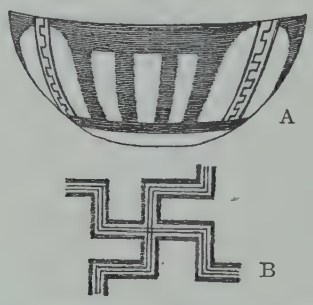

FIG. 80a. The comb. FIG. 80b. The swastika. The two most characteristic motives on Peucetian pottery.

The Maltese cross may be an importation, but it could easily have been invented independently by draughtsmen who were manipulating triangles in every possible combination, and were happy to light upon a new effect.

Mayer unhesitatingly assigns most of the pottery of this Peucetian style to the fifth century, while admitting that its development takes place in the second half of the sixth. But it seems clear from the evidence adduced by Gervasio that this dating is more than a century too low. For Gervasio shows that this geometrical ware painted in monochrome black has occurred in several well-authenticated tomb-groups together with Corinthian vases and bronzes of the late seventh century. It is reasonable, therefore, to place the earliest specimens at about 650 B.C., and to allow that the whole class has a range of about 150 years.[1] Leaving these important tombs of Bari, Turi, and Noicattaro to be treated presently as a separate subject we may pass to a description of the second class of Peucetian wares. In these the geometrical

[1] Gervasio strongly maintains that it never comes down into the fifth century. I think it would be more prudent to leave this side of the question open. There are some uncertain factors in the evidence, and Mayer's opinion is too important to be entirely disregarded.

decoration is painted in two colours. The first specimens were found at Monte Sannace near Gioia del Colle, and are described in Gervasio's memoir, which is accompanied by fine illustrations with two plates in colour.

The red-and-black ware of Monte Sannace forms a new and distinct class, quite different from the black-and-white both in general treatment and in the detail of its motives. It retains the comb motive, though using it sometimes with a quite new feeling, as may be seen in the upper part of no. 6 in Plate 45, but it abandons the swastika and the Maltese cross. Hatched lozenges go out of favour, but circles and solid triangles are used in the panels, and triangles are occasionally juxtaposed so as to produce an exceedingly schematic human figure, as in no. 4 of Plate 45. There is a different spirit in the whole decoration, and a finer sense of symmetry in design. The ornamental details tend to be few and simple in their distribution; wide bands of colour on the lower half of a crater and patterned or figured zones in the upper half; while maeanders of several kinds are freely used. It is easy to see the permeating influence of Corinthian style, and we are not surprised to learn that the fine crater shown here as Fig. 81 was found together with one that is actually Corinthian.

Fig. 81. Painted crater from Monte Sannace in museum at Bari. From a sketch by J. R.-M. Cf. Gervasio, op. cit., tav. i.

On the Corinthian crater itself [1] the lower zone exhibits gazelles and leopards, while the upper represents on one side three horses ridden by cavaliers armed with tridents, and on the other a dance of seven youths, two of whom carry a rhyton. The name Ποτειδαν, written in irregular uncials, resolves any possible doubt as to the identity of the rider with the trident. Along the edge of the line above the mounted figures is a fringe of loops, which shows the origin of the large loops used in the panels of our Fig. 81. With the Corinthian crater and the Peucetian shown as Fig. 81 were found four fibulae, viz. two of leech or boat type with long shank and two of the shapes shown in Figs. 82, 83.

There can be little doubt again as to the origin of the designs in no. 5 of Plate 45. Here the body of the vase is red, on a foundation of white which is left as a background to the pattern; the broad bands near the bottom are

[1] Gervasio, op. cit., pp. 47–50.

black, the barred band at the centre is black, and the figures and designs on the top section are black. A row of birds like turkeys, fairly carefully drawn but not so lifelike as in some other examples, occupies the figured zone. This arrangement of birds is clearly imitated from that of the winged griffins, often almost resembling birds, so characteristic of all early Corinthian examples and actually found on a typical Corinthian kylix from Monte Sannace. In no. 6 of Plate 45 the birds appear in a more cursive style, associated in a most

FIG. 82. Bronze fibula of peculiarly Apulian style. After Gervasio, op. cit., tav. vii.

FIG. 83. Silver fibula of peculiarly Apulian style. After Gervasio, op. cit., tav. vii.

interesting way with the Peucetian motive of the comb; this is an excellent example of native work which is influenced by the Greek but retains much of its own originality.

In no. 4 of Plate 45 the schematic figure of a man, formed by the simple juxtaposition of two triangles to which arms are added, is valuable as showing the stylistic beginnings of the drawing of the human figure. It helps to some extent to explain the remarkable representations on a broken crater of which a panel is reproduced here as Fig. 84.

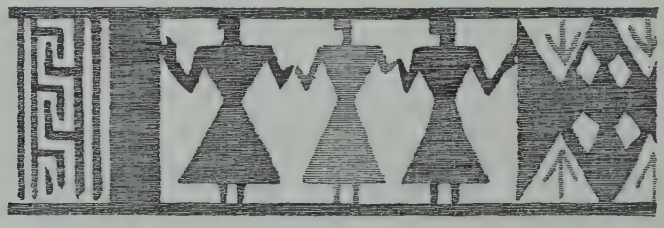

FIG. 84. Dancing figures on a crater from Monte Sannace. After Gervasio, op. cit., tav. ii, no. 2.

Gervasio very naturally compares this to the scenes on the Dipylonic vase of Bisenzio, illustrated in my *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 171. But the resemblance, though striking at the first glance, is perhaps hardly more than superficial; and I hold it to be impossible either to lower the date of the Bisenzio specimen, which is certainly eighth century, or to ascribe the Monte Sannace crater to any period appreciably earlier than that of the Corinthian pottery found on the same site.

In no. 3 of Plate 45 is seen a very decorative scheme of large square

maeanders enclosed in an oblong frame so as to produce an effect like a gardener's maze; below the centre is a zone of combs turned alternately up and down as in the upper part of no. 6.

Nos. 1 and 2 of Plate 45 show a different style of decoration from the other five which have been described. They belong in fact to the black-and-white tradition. Actually they are all in black and white except for some bands or lines in red, so that they may be regarded as forming in a certain sense a link between the two classes. Found not at Monte Sannace but at Valenzano, these two show no signs of direct foreign influence, and are really to be considered as belonging to the same independent native school as the pottery in Plate 44.

The tombs at Monte Sannace in which the black-and-red pottery was found had all been pillaged by unauthorized diggers, so that no record is available of the combinations of objects. Besides the pottery a fine bronze helmet of the Corinthian model was discovered, and a handsome piece of bronze armour for the protection of the arm; also fibulae of silver, bronze, or iron of leech shape or of the types given above in figs. 82, 83, and a few beads of amber, glass, and glass paste. It may be inferred from the Corinthian pottery and the small objects that the cemetery as a whole begins in the second half of the seventh century and continues through a considerable part of the sixth. It is particularly to be observed that no figured vases of Attic kind were found there. Fortunately a few graves in Peucetia of the same period as Monte Sannace have been methodically excavated. One is from the town of Bari, one from Turi, two from Valenzano, and four, which are far the most interesting, from Noicattaro.

Tomb Groups in Peucetia

The Bari grave, found in 1913, was a rectangular sarcophagus of tufa, one metre in length, covered with a rectangular block of tufa sunk two metres below the ground. Inside it were the remains of a skeleton buried in the contracted position, together with a crater of the black-and-white class, four objects of Greek workmanship, viz. a jug, a pair of two-handled cups and a bowl, and an iron spear. On the crater the principal zone is ornamented with combs and swastikas, below which is a festoon motive, while the upper half has three horizontal zones ornamented respectively with reticulations, a triangular maeander, and undulating lines. In general the effect is very similar to that of no. 6 in Plate 44, though the detail of the upper zones is more intricate. Of the four Greek pots three are simple, painted with one or two bands and partially covered with black varnish, but the fourth is

important for its design. It is a Corinthian two-handled bowl round which is painted in black with incised details a winged griffin between two birds with curved aquiline beaks; this is repeated so as to make a total of six figures.[1]

The grave of Turi, a little place 17 kilometres inland near Conversano, was a rectangular trench formed of two large and two short slabs of limestone covered by another slab. Two of the pots in it are indigenous, one is a Corinthian importation, and the fourth is of a Greek form though perhaps of local manufacture. One of the Peucetian specimens is a black-and-white pear-shaped jar ornamented on the top half with broad bands, a narrow zone of wavy lines and a zone of alternating lozenges and circles, while in the bottom half there is a bold trapezoidal panel containing a square filled with chess-board patterns. The other is a shallow two-handled bowl with poorly drawn rectangles and lines upon it. A stamnos decorated with horizontal bands widely spaced over the body is perhaps the local imitation of a Greek model, but the kothon finely painted with spirals and with the 'Ionic' maeander of interrupted quadrilaterals is beyond all question a Corinthian importation.

Besides its pottery this grave contained amber beads from a necklace, an ivory fibula, the body of which is shaped like a dolphin, and two small silver fibulae of the type given above in Fig. 83.[2]

This double-bow type is practically confined to Apulia, being scarcely found anywhere else in Italy, and is particularly common at Valenzano. It is impossible to fix the exact limits of its range, but it is evident that it begins before 600 B.C. and continues to be used during the sixth century.

The cemeteries around Valenzano have been no less indiscriminately pillaged than those of Monte Sannace, but the complete contents of two graves have been satisfactorily ascertained. In the first there were two Peucetian vases, viz. a crater with bichrome decoration in red and black consisting of bands, vertical lines, and oblong panels, and a jug of the usual black-and-white class. With these was a Corinthian oenochoe, painted with two zones of animals, deer, and oxen somewhat roughly executed.[3]

In the second were a handsome bichrome crater, a jug of the black-and-white class with the usual patterns, including the swastika, a Greek two-handled bowl painted in black with two horizontal bands, and a Greek two-handled cup similarly painted. With these were a plain bronze bowl and two silver fibulae of the leech type with long catch-point ending in a button, of which one had a zigzag ornamentation of filigree. Also there were two spirals of gold wire, fragments of iron fibulae, a bracelet of stout bronze wire, and

[1] Gervasio, op. cit., tav. viii, and pp. 66–9. [2] Ibid., tav. viii, and pp. 61–6.
[3] Ibid., tav. ix, nos. 1–4, and pp. 78–80.

a necklace of some eighty amber beads in the shapes of discs, spheres, and scaraboids.[1]

From the same site of Valenzano but from unrecorded graves can be seen in the museum at Bari bronze dippers and strainers, a bronze belt, clover-mouthed bronze jugs, iron spears, and short swords of iron. Some of these swords are of the form shown below in Fig. 85, which may be illustrated here as a characteristic and definitely Apulian weapon.

Noicattaro is a little south-east of Bari between Ceglie and Rutigliano. Here in 1905 some work in the modern cemetery disclosed four tombs, of which the results were carefully recorded and may be considered as perfectly trustworthy; the contents are in the museum at Bari. As the products of the first two tombs were not kept apart they must be described together. There were two Peucetian jars of the black-and-white class ornamented in the usual style with combs, swastikas, and bands; three two-handled cups of the same class; three jugs painted with bands, a small askos with pattern of combs and swastikas; and a high-footed bowl with bands and a square maeander upon it. The Corinthian pottery consisted of an unimportant trefoil-mouthed jug painted with bands, a plain two-handled amphoretta, six two-handled tazze and a large crater 37 centimetres in diameter. On the upper part of this crater is painted a banquet-scene, the one side being filled by three male figures reclining each on his couch, and the other by three horsemen riding at a gallop with spears in their left hands. It is the style of representation which was quite a favourite with the vase-painters of Corinth.[2]

Fig. 85. Typical Apulian iron sword. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$. After Mayer, *Apulien*, p. 44.

The third tomb contained three small examples of the black-and-white Peucetian ware, and a Corinthian oenochoe with almost spherical body painted with a scene of two cocks facing one another with a double lotus between them, a siren at one end and a panther at the other. I reproduce the scene here in Fig. 86, as evidence of the date and style.[3]

The fourth tomb of Noicattaro was so important that the discussion of the objects contained in it occupies half of Gervasio's volume. For a complete study and estimate of these the reader must therefore consult Gervasio's work. I can do no more in this place than briefly catalogue the objects and summarize the opinions of their discoverer.

[1] Ibid., tav. x, nos. 1–3, and pp. 81, 82.
[2] Ibid., tav. xiii, and pp. 96–102.
[3] Ibid., tav. xiv, and pp. 102–6.

This grave differed from the other three in being a monolithic sarcophagus instead of a box composed of loose slabs. As it was less than a metre and a half in length it follows that the body must have been buried in the contracted position. All the pottery was found outside the sarcophagus, covered with the round bronze shield, but the other metal objects and weapons were inside.[1] Of Peucetian pottery there were eight pieces. First among these is a large and heavy pithos ornamented rather simply in the usual black-and-white style with four large combs, horizontal bands, a festoon motive, and maeanders. Next are the two-handled jar and jug shown here as Figs. 87 and 88, together with a pair of two-handled cups of which one has a comb and the other a festoon

FIG. 86. Scene on a Corinthian oenochoe from Noicattaro. From Gervasio, op. cit., p. 103.

as its principal motive. Lastly there was an askos ornamented with combs and swastika, together with two high-footed bowls decorated respectively with a maeander and with a festoon pattern.

There were three complete Greek pieces, one of which is the common two-handled tazza, another is a trefoil-mouthed oenochoe, and the third a jug of unusual form with globular body. This is painted with horizontal bands, above which is a zone showing a swan, a winged harpy, and a pair of wild boars charging one another. From fragments it was ascertained that there had also been a Corinthian crater painted with palmettos and lotus-flowers.[2]

The bronze objects were very remarkable, except for the commonplace oenochoe which needs no description. Over the pottery lay the round shield, which was doubtless only the metal front of a substantial wooden targe. It was ornamented in repoussé with patterns, amongst which could be recognized a weave like basketwork, and a row of scaraboids. Inside the grave was a bronze plaque, seven centimetres wide, terminating at each end in a palmetto surmounting

[1] The weapons were recognizable from fragments as an iron spear and iron sword.
[2] Gervasio, op. cit., tav. xv, and pp. 110–17.

two Ionic volutes, between which the whole length was decorated in repoussé with a series of panels. The last panel at one end was filled by two sphinxes and at the other by two lions. Between these the other panels show the fight between Achilles and Penthesilea, Herakles slaying the Nemean lion, and Theseus slaying the Minotaur. Before the plaque had been cut in two, which was done before it was placed in the grave, there must have been six panels, repeating these three scenes twice over.

A figured girdle ornamented in repoussé is the handsomest piece in the group; it seems to be of copper rather than bronze, a little over a metre long and twelve centimetres high. On it are depicted six quadrigae, all alike except that in three cases the charioteer's head points forward and in three it is turned back; the animal beneath the horses is a dog in the first three cases and a wild boar in the others.[1]

FIGS. 87, 88. Two Peucetian vases from grave 4 at Noicattaro. After Gervasio, op. cit., tav. xv, no. 5 and no. 6.

Discussing these bronzes, which he compares with other well-known examples found in Greece, Gervasio comes to the conclusion that they belong to the end of the seventh century, and should be classed as purely Corinthian, not Argivo-Corinthian work.

Having now described the recognized classes of Peucetian ware I must briefly refer to the discovery of some sherds of coloured pottery at Putignano, a few miles east of Monte Sannace. Mayer has illustrated these in a coloured plate which renders any detailed description superfluous.[2] The pieces are all fragments of craters decorated with patterns in red and dark violet on a yellow ground. All the principal motives—comb, lozenge, circle, maeander, festoon—are the same that occur in the other Peucetian pottery, though the style is different and more primitive. We may perhaps regard the Putignano series as representing a slightly earlier stage of the bichrome class before it had become so strongly affected by the foreign Corinthian influence as the examples which have been studied from Monte Sannace.

[1] Gervasio, op. cit., tav. xvii, xviii.

[2] Mayer, op. cit., Taf. II.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 44, 45

PLATE 44. CENTRAL APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Peucetian schools.

Nos. 1, 4, 6 are from Valenzano; no. 2 from Monte Sannace; no. 3 from Ceglie; no. 5 from Rutigliano.

Nos. 1, 2, 6 are taken from Gervasio, *Bronzi arcaici e ceramica geometrica*, tav. vi and tav. xii; nos. 3, 4, 5 from Mayer, *Apulien*, Tafeln 20 and 22.

Dimensions as follows: nos. 2 and 3 are 21½ centimetres high; no. 4 is 18 centimetres; no. 5 is 34 centimetres; no. 6 is about 30 centimetres high.

All the examples are in the museum of Bari.

PLATE 45. CENTRAL APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Peucetian schools.

Nos. 1 and 2 are from Valenzano; nos. 3–6 from Monte Sannace.

Selected from Gervasio, op. cit., tavole i, ii, iii, iv, xi.

Dimensions: no. 1 is 26 centimetres high; no. 2 is 24 centimetres; no. 3 is 31 centimetres; nos. 5 and 6 are 34 centimetres high.

All the examples are in the museum of Bari.

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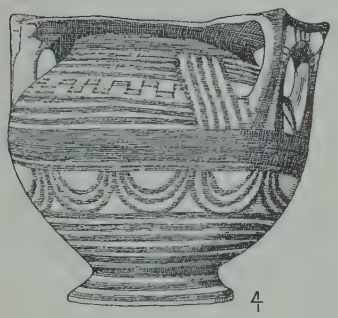
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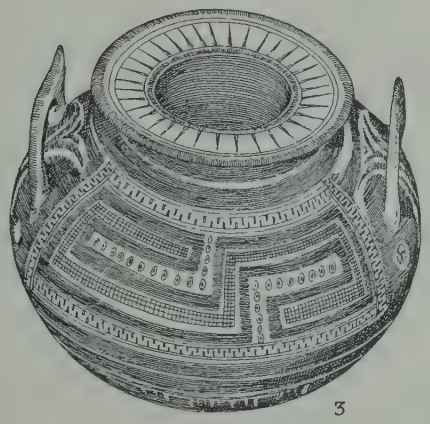
CENTRAL APULIA. Pottery of the Peucetian Schools



CENTRAL APULIA. Pottery of the Peucetian Schools

The Origins of Apulian Pottery

There has been much controversy over the origin and connexions of 'Apulian geometric' pottery. Hardly had the ill-starred suggestion of a Mycenaean survival been laughed out of court than another, almost equally unfounded, theory was started according to which the Apulian wares of the Iron Age were to be affiliated to the Sicilian painted style of the Chalcolithic period. This was duly exploded by Mayer,[1] who, however, has not succeeded in propounding any clear view of his own. He bewilders his reader and sometimes seems to lose his own sense of direction in pathless mazes of minutiae, while he strives to find analogies in the most remote times and the most distant places for small details which in any case have little relevance. Only one impression forces itself upon the mind, which is that if all this industry and erudition fail to lead to any conclusion there is probably no conclusion to be found at all in the present state of our knowledge, or at any rate none that would command general assent.

Hitherto of course the question has generally been put in the wrong form, for it is useless and meaningless to inquire after the connexions of 'Apulian' pottery in general. Now that it is recognized that there are two perfectly distinct early schools, as well as two perfectly distinct later schools which will presently be described, the question for the earlier period must be twofold, viz. what is the origin of the Daunian school and what is the origin of the Peucetian? It is clear that the two inquiries cannot be fused into a composite whole.

Now after Gervasio's discovery of the Corinthian factor in Middle Apulia there can be no doubt as to the affinities of one part of the Peucetian school, the bichrome red-and-black ware. This is undoubtedly the result of Corinthian inspiration, though the native potters have shown much originality and versatility in adapting the new motives and giving them the stamp of local tradition. But the black-and-white class is free from any recognizable Corinthian influence and there is no known foreign source from which it can be immediately derived.[2] It is true that all the individual motives are known in the Dipylon répertoire, but this is not of much importance in view of the fact that they have been welded into a whole which has no resemblance to the Dipylon style. Again, the suggestion which has been so regularly mooted from time to time that the missing connexion may be found in Cyprus does not stand critical examination; for the principal motives of the Peucetian school, the comb

[1] *Apulien*, p. 200, criticizing an article in *Römische Mitt.*, xiv, p. 177.

[2] Gervasio suggests the *proto*-Corinthian as a possible influence (op. cit., p. 358).

and swastika, are scarcely, if at all, known in Cyprus. To posit a source as yet undiscovered in the Balkans is to plunge into unjustifiable prophecy.

In all these efforts to derive the Apulian geometric, whether Daunian or Peucetian, from foreign sources there seems to be an underestimate of the power of local initiative in Eastern Italy. Granting that they may often have caught up a motive or an idea from any of the foreign nations with which they traded directly or indirectly, the Apulians certainly reminted all that they borrowed and turned it into a fresh currency of their own. The peoples that maintained their political independence against the Greeks for so many generations showed exactly the same spirit of independence in preserving the spirit of their own indigenous art, and reacted again and again from the influence of the stranger.

I would suggest, therefore, that so far as Peucetia is concerned the school of native pottery represented by the black-and-white pottery is not really the offspring of any foreign parent. Inheriting, or perhaps borrowing in instalments, a few exceedingly simple motives which were current all over the Mediterranean during the geometric period, the Peucetians worked them into a whole which is a translation of nothing else than their own temperament and their own racial psychology. It is a simple, ascetic, and withal a very dignified art which emerges from this expression of their character.

The genius of the Daunians is totally different. It is varied, quick, adaptable, fanciful, delighting in fresh ideas and not shrinking from the grotesque. Therefore it is perhaps not so impossible to trace here and there amongst them certain traits which may have been borrowed from one or another part of Greece. But here no less than in Peucetia the transmuting power of the native genius far outweighs the value of any slight contributions from abroad. In short, it would seem that if ever any schools had a right to be called independent they are those of Northern and Central Apulia in the sixth century.

The Late School of Geometric at Canosa

An interval of fully 150 years separates the latest of the pottery shown in Plates 42–5 from any that is illustrated in Plate 46, which belongs to the third and fourth centuries. More precisely it may be said that the vases shown in Plate 46 can be dated as between 350 and 200 B.C., and it is now known that they were manufactured solely at Canosa. For the archaeological history of this remarkable city there is no evidence during the fifth century, but in the fourth it begins to appear as the source of a brilliant artistic renaissance. Throughout the next two or three generations Canosa takes her place as an

important factor in the Hellenistic art-world, receiving the products of Alexandria and the Near East and exporting her own rococo works of terra-cotta far and wide. In many European museums, but especially at Naples, may be seen these polychrome compositions—huge vases with Centaurs and Cupids springing from their sides and sometimes a Niobe or a Hermes surmounting them. Often an individual work will be detached from the group and stand as a separate figure, generally a mourning woman. In this case it may almost attain the dimensions of a statue, and several such examples are of notable beauty, ranking among the most interesting plastic studies produced at this time. In the same tombs with these were found fine vases painted with scenes from Greek mythology and history, of which the most famous are partly in Munich, partly in the museum of Naples.

To house all the magnificent and often bulky objects now buried with the dead, including not only pottery but coloured glass, gold work, jewellery, and everything that money could buy from the Oriental trader, much space was needed. And so the narrow trench which had been sufficient for the simple needs of an earlier generation was now enlarged into a wide chamber, entered by a sloping passage that led down to a door sculptured with architectural details. It was from tombs of this elaborate character, as well as from smaller graves lying stratigraphically above them, that a number of geometrical vases were obtained similar to those illustrated in Plate 46.

There has been an extraordinary amount of confusion and misconception as to the chronology of this style of pottery. Experienced archaeologists and writers of authoritative general works have classed it as belonging to the fifth or sixth or even the eighth century. This has been due to the absence of sufficient information as to the circumstances in which it was found. But there can be no longer any excuse for such misinterpretations in view of the overwhelming evidence which has recently been produced. Macchioro, following up some indications given by Mayer, has traced the original letters of the architect Bonucci, who was excavating for the government of Naples in 1853, 1854, and 1858. The result of his examination has been to prove that twenty-six examples of this geometric pottery in the Naples Museum, of which the provenance had previously been considered uncertain, came from Canosa, as well as seventy-nine figured vases in the classical style.[1] And it is quite clear from a comparison of several passages in the letters that such typical shapes among the geometric pots as double-spouted askoi, twin-situlae, and 'sphagia' were obtained from the same kind of grandiose tomb which had

[1] *Römische Mitt.*, xxv.

already furnished Naples with the Darius vase and Munich with the *chefs-d'œuvre* illustrated by Millin.[1]

The upper limit of date is therefore fixed beyond all possibility of dispute, for no one has ever dreamed of maintaining that the architectural tombs are earlier than 400 B.C.; indeed the tendency has generally been to set their date too low. Mayer has shown, however, that there is no occasion to bring even the latest of them down below 200 B.C.; as the often-quoted inscription of Medella Dasmi, who died in 67 B.C., is a completely isolated instance of burial in a family mausoleum which had been constructed two hundred years earlier. Glazed Egyptian fayence of the Ptolemaic time, found in the short excavations at Canosa in 1895, actually gives a fairer indication of the general period.[2]

Ample corroboration, if any be needed, for the opinions of Mayer and Macchioro, can be furnished from the review of a series of tombs at Canosa exhibited in the museum of Taranto. Although the results of the excavations, which were made in 1903, are still unpublished, they can be fully studied in the groups exhibited at the museum. In Plate 46, nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, are shown four characteristic examples of the Late-Canosan geometric school from this series at Taranto. Now all these types were found associated, not merely once or twice but in almost every grave, with Apulian-Greek painted pottery of the most unmistakable fourth- or third-century styles, and with no objects whatsoever of any earlier character. Incidentally it may be remarked also that there was nothing of later date than the third century, a point which is of some importance as helping to fix the lower limit of the chronology. Most of the Greek pottery is the well-known black ware with designs, decorations, and figures painted upon it in thick white. One tomb-group, evidently later than the majority and belonging no doubt to about the middle of the third century, contained the twin-situla illustrated as no. 1 in the plate, an enormous askos painted with decorations too faded to be legible, a very large double-spouted askos with zones of patterns in the style of no. 8 in Plate 46, three large pottery statuettes, and a polychrome jar on which were moulded a Medusa mask and Centaurs springing out from the side.

M. Jatta in vol. xxix of the *Römische Mitteilungen* gives a detailed description of all the contents of a single tomb now in the museum at Bari which amplifies these observations which I made on the series at Taranto. Structurally the tomb was of the same general kind as that of Medella Dasmi and her family, a group of several chambers architecturally decorated with Ionic columns, entered by a single door which gave access to them all. It contained not only

[1] For the style of these large tombs and their rich contents, see Millin, 'Tombeaux de Canose', *Arch. Ztg.*, 1857, and Biardot, *Terres-cuites grecques funèbres.*

[2] Cf. Mayer, *Apulien*, p. 305.

red-figured vases of the advanced Apulian-Greek style but also polychrome vases in which the painting is executed on a white ground, and four of the well-known female heads surmounted by jugs, which were also painted in polychrome. Besides the pottery there was a very fine bronze cuirass. In short, it was an ensemble which, as the author says, must belong to the middle of the third century. The richness of the equipment shows the incongruity of describing the geometrical vases which were also found in it as 'rustic' products, and disposes of the suggestion sometimes made that they are only a poor man's substitute for the contemporary Grecian wares. Three of these geometrical pots were of the form which Jatta has christened 'sphagion', similar in outline to no. 5 of Plate 46 and painted with patterns in horizontal zones; the other four were askoi, one of which was only slightly painted, like no. 7 in Plate 46, while the others were elaborately ornamented with horizontal zones like those of the sphagia.[1]

Having established the dating we may now proceed to study the intrinsic character of the Late-Canosan geometric. In regard to shapes it is interesting to note that one of the most typical forms has been inherited from the earlier Daunian school of two hundred years earlier. Possibly this, the double-storied jar seen in nos. 4, 5, 6 of the plate, may have been retained for ritual reasons; the decoration is entirely different from what it was in the earlier period. Besides the usual single-spouted askos, now very often of colossal dimensions, double-spouted askoi have become exceedingly common. Indeed the taste for making double, triple, and even multiple pots is very marked. Apart from these the only shape that is important enough for mention is the high pillar-shaped candlestick.

It is in the decoration more than in the shapes that the wholly changed spirit of the Late-Canosan style becomes evident. If it is compared with the Daunian style of the sixth century it is hard to believe that two such different products emanated from the same people and the same city. In the course of half a dozen generations a complete revolution has taken place. Instead of the primitive motives of lozenge, band, and triangle there are maeanders, frets, vine-leaves, and egg-patterns; the very designs, in short, that occur on the contemporary Greek pottery, and not a single one of those which are proper to native Daunia. The old tradition has been completely forgotten, the domination of Greek fashion is complete.

A quite typical scheme of ornament appears on the twin-situla shown here as Fig. 89, where the successive zones are filled with a wavy maeander, a wavy line, an egg-pattern punctuated with branching stems, then a herring-bone

[1] For illustrations, see *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xxix, pp. 111–14.

and a broken chain. Very similar is the scheme in no. 1 of Plate 46, where the favourite pattern of the curling ivy is prominent, or in no. 2 of the same plate.

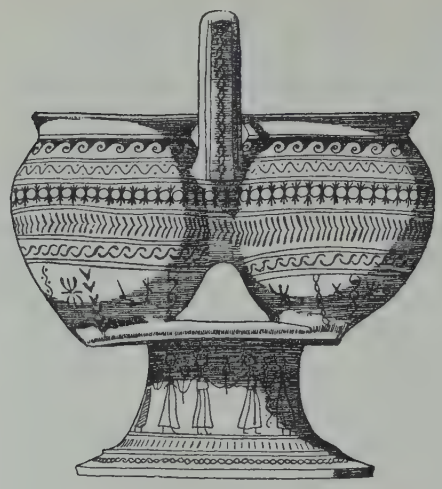


Fig. 89. Painted Canosan twin-situla. Scale $\frac{1}{5}$. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vi, tav. xiii.

On a larger field, such as the great askos in no. 7 of Plate 46, a rather cursively drawn honeysuckle or palmetto is often used.

The twin-situla illustrated as Fig. 89 is in the Naples Museum, and differs from the others in Plate 46 in being furnished with a pedestal. It is known to have been purchased from a dealer at S. Maria di Capua, so that there is no direct evidence as to its provenance. But there can be little doubt that it was made in or near Canosa. It has a peculiar interest in that it carries a brief inscription in the Messapian language, incised in Greek letters under the rim while the clay was soft from the hand of the potter. This led to Patroni's erroneous description of it as 'Messapian'. Actually the inscription proves only that Messapian was sometimes spoken in Canosa about 300 B.C., a fact which is not very important.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 46

Plate 46. NORTHERN APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Late-Canosan school. All from Canosa.

Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7 are from original sketches made by Joanna Randall-MacIver; nos. 2 and 8 are taken from Mayer's article in *Römische Mitt.*, vol. xxv; no. 6 from his *Apulien*, Taf. 38; no. 3 from *Apulien*, Taf. 40.

Dimensions: nos. 1 and 2 are about 25 centimetres high; nos. 4 and 5 about 28 centimetres; no. 7 about 38 centimetres high.

Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7 are at Taranto; nos. 3 and 6 at Bari

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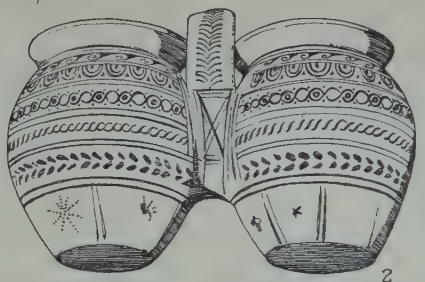
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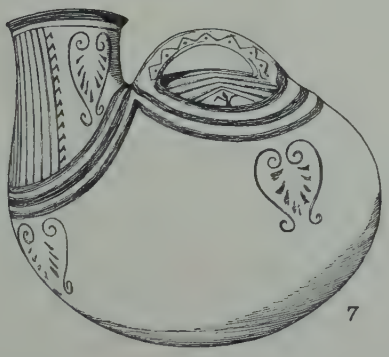
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8

CANOSA. Geometric Pottery of the Late School

The Messapian School and its Connexions

The real Messapian pottery has no relationship or similarity to the Late-Canosan; and shows far less individuality than the schools of Northern or Central Apulia. It appears in the fifth century as a 'mixed style',[1] already to a great extent Hellenized, and only by an occasional reminiscence betraying a possibly earlier geometric tradition. There is, however, one peculiarity which distinguishes the products of Messapia from those of any other region and makes it easy to recognize them in any collection. This is the shape of the handles, which almost invariably terminate at the top and bottom in vertical discs like wheels. The favourite form is a long-necked spherical jar with side-handles rising high above the brim, as may be seen in nos. 1–3 and 10, 11 of Plate 47, which is perhaps the local evolution of pots like no. 9, that have a simple loop-handle on each side. The latter are not common, but several of them are known, and they are survivals of a stage which is typologically and perhaps even chronologically older than the wheel-handled jars called *torzelle*.

These torzelle, nos. 1–3 and 10, 11 of Plate 47, and jugs like nos. 5, 6, 7, of which the handles terminate in similar wheels, are the commonest forms in Messapian pottery. Besides these, a sort of crater with columnar handles at the side like no. 12 is not infrequent, and may be regarded as a local deformation of the classical Greek model; stamnoi and candelabra occur but are by no means common, while all other shapes except bowls are quite rare.

The chief centres of manufacture seem to have been at Rugge near Lecce and at Egnazia. Each of these was originally a Rhodian colony, which partly explains the strong Greek influence pervading most of the decoration. In fact, if we leave out of consideration the occasional figured vases with their scenes of hunting or fighting, it is not difficult to trace the other motives on the torzelle and jugs to two principal sources. One of these is the old geometrical tradition found all over South Italy and very possibly indigenous; the other is a more or less eclectic school, forming itself out of Rhodian and any other Greek elements that came in with the new colonists and their various trading connexions. But the two are not always kept rigidly distinct; the Messapian potter is seldom content to ornament his surfaces with nothing more important than a clepsydra or a lozenge. Having seen new and more graceful designs he can seldom resist putting in a zone of ivy leaves, a maeander or rosette, even a bird or animal. Examples of pure and unmixed geometrical style are

[1] The phrase is borrowed from Mayer, whose characterization of the Messapian pottery is very brilliant (*Apulien*, Chapter XIII).

rather rare, and seldom occur on any except the earliest type of pots without the wheel-handle. It is as if we were witnessing the last moment of survival of an old indigenous art. In the immense majority of cases the decoration is mainly copied from the Greek, with a distinct preponderance of elements derived from Ionic sources.

There are certainly differences of period and distinct stages of development in the series which Mayer has illustrated in five plates made up from collections widely scattered over Europe,[1] but it would be difficult as yet to arrange them in exact order or sequence. I have selected my examples with the object of showing all the principal varieties rather than of studying the affinities of time and place; perhaps in any case it would be premature to attempt any more precise classification. In addition to the specimens illustrated in *Apulien* there are many still unpublished in different parts of the world. The most representative collection is that in the museum at Bari, though a certain number of specimens may be seen at Lecce and a few at Taranto.

[1] *Apulien*, Taf. 25–9.

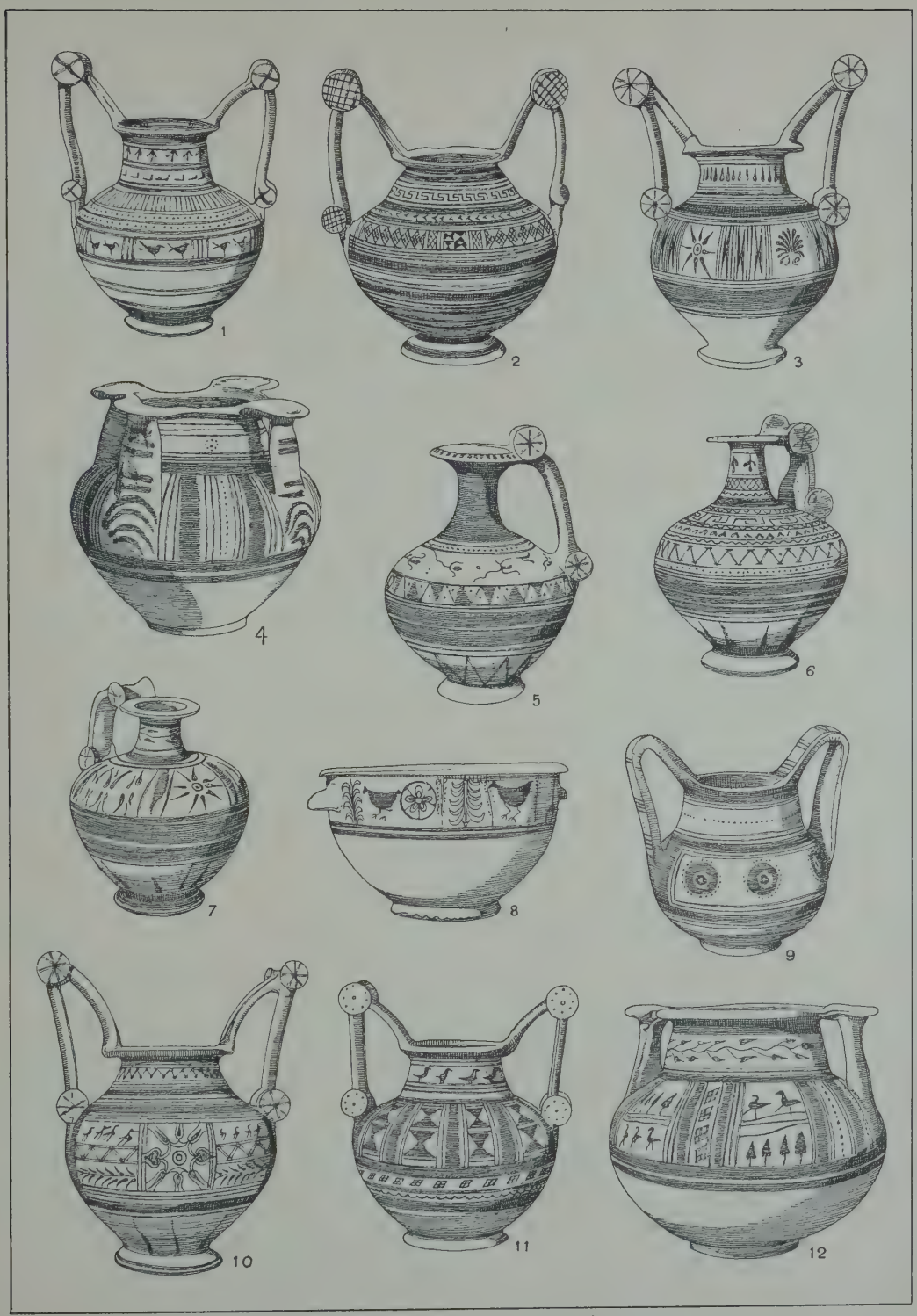
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 47

PLATE 47. SOUTHERN APULIA. Geometric pottery of the Messapian school.

No. 1 is from Manduria; no. 2 from Mesagne; nos. 4, 5, 7, 9 from Rugge; no. 6 from Carovigno; the provenance of the rest is uncertain.

Selected from Mayer, *Apulien*, Tafeln 25–9. No dimensions are stated except for nos. 4, 5, 6, which are respectively 22, 18, 20 centimetres high.

Nos. 1–3 are at Taranto; nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, 12 at Lecce; no. 5 at Bari; no. 7 at Trieste; no. 11 at Berlin.



SOUTHERN APULIA. Pottery of the Messapian School

The Deposit of Archaic Pottery found at Taranto

It is clear from all that has been written in the preceding pages that the very earliest geometrical pottery of Daunia and Peucetia does not date back before the seventh century, while the Messapian makes its first appearance in the fifth. We have as yet no knowledge whatsoever of the archaeological history of Apulia in the four centuries from 1100 to 700 B.C., which in the north and centre of Italy are so full of interest and importance. It must remain for future explorations to discover what was happening in the whole region from Monte Gargano to Otranto, during the time that the cremating races were developing their Danubian civilization, and gradually yielding to the encroaching domination of the Etruscans. That neither Villanovans nor Etruscans affected Apulia is abundantly clear. What we may expect to learn in future years will be of a quite different kind, namely the Iron Age sequel to the peculiar culture of Molfetta and Matera. A gleam out of the darkness of this period comes from a curious and enigmatic find of pottery far more ancient than any yet described, which was made in 1880 in the actual town of Taranto. Some work that was being executed in a street of the Borgo Nuovo brought to light an entire depot of some 350 specimens of pottery, mostly in good condition. They had been collected together at some remote date, probably out of tombs which may be inferred to have covered the neighbouring ground; and had been preserved, perhaps from some sentiment of piety or superstition, when their original repositories were destroyed. There are two distinct classes, the first composed of 140 pieces of plain black or dark-grey ware, the second of cups, jugs, water-jars, and a few craters painted in an extremely archaic style of geometrical patterns. Any experienced observer who saw this series in the museum at Taranto before realizing its identity would inevitably note it as being very near in character to the Bronze Age. On closer study, however, it becomes evident, as Mayer rightly maintains, that all its real affinities are with the early Iron Age.

The plain black pottery is of very ancient lineage, resembling in its general appearance the hand-made black ware found all over Italy, and showing in its specific forms a certain amount of relationship to the earliest Iron Age types of Latium and Campania. It is entirely without any kind of incised decoration. I do not hesitate to follow Mayer in rejecting Quagliati's suggestion that there is any affinity to the pottery either of Timmari or of Scoglio del Tonno. Any remote resemblance that there may be is due simply to the family

likeness of a primitive manufacture, which was diffused all over the country and was too simple to admit of much variation.

Far more important than the monochrome ware of the Borgo Nuovo is the painted pottery, which is wheel-made and manufactured from a purified clay which tends to a brownish colour after burning. The coloration of the patterns is seldom red; it is normally a dark-brown or black which has so nearly amalgamated with the tint of the pot itself as to be often hard to trace. A considerable degree of skill and practice is revealed in the execution of the drawing. Among the forms the commonest is the cup, of which three examples are reproduced in Fig. 90, a, b, c, but a large water-jug with low-set handles on each side and a high jug should also be observed.

The principal motives employed on the painted pottery are barred ladders, hatched triangles or lozenges, concentric triangles, zigzag lines and horizontal

FIG. 90, a, b, c. Painted pottery from the Borgo Nuovo at Taranto. After Mayer, *Apulien*, Taf. III, nos. 8, 10, 11.

bands with fringed margins. To these must be added as less frequent elements a herring-bone and very schematically drawn birds. A horizontal system is generally followed in the distribution of the design on the field.

So long as it remains an isolated find this early geometric pottery of Taranto must continue to present an unsolved riddle. It is unquestionably to be traced to foreign influence, inasmuch as no native pottery of such antiquity was ever made on the wheel. Indeed, one or two pieces of particularly fine execution might well be claimed as actual imports. This, then, is evidence of foreign trade between Southern Apulia and the eastern Mediterranean at some date between 1000 and 700 B.C.

A definite indication of similar trade in the most northern corner of Apulia is furnished by Mosso's excavations at Coppa Nevigata near Manfredonia. On this site there was a settlement which began in the Neolithic and continued through the Bronze to the Iron Age. In the upper layers, together with primitive native wares and remains of iron, were some sherds of painted pottery which

Mosso describes as Mycenaean. They are rather, however, geometrical pottery of the very early Iron Age, chronologically to be compared with the painted ware of the Borgo Nuovo, though in style their relationship is very distant.[1] These interesting fragments may be studied in the Museo Preistorico of Rome. They undoubtedly prove that there was trans-Adriatic trade between Northern Apulia and Greece or Epirus as early as a time which can hardly be later than the tenth century.

Of objects other than pottery the Apulian museums have practically nothing to show which is not a recognizably Greek import. I have referred to the local style of fibula and to the local pattern of sword. A few details as to dress and ornament may be gleaned from the ritual vases, but even Mayer's ingenuity and resource cannot construct any picture of the native life, customs, or industries from the meagre material that has been saved from destruction. Only when the modern Apulians of all classes have been better educated in their duty to science, and have acquired more sense of what they owe to the world and to their own country, will it be possible for the devoted and hard-working officials of the Government to form thoroughly representative collections. The despoiling of tombs and dispersion of the objects contained in them should be condemned by the public spirit of the community. Until there is some awakening of local patriotism in this respect the archaeology of Apulia will remain a half-written chapter.

The miniature Barrows found in Peucetia

Incidentally, in the course of describing the pottery I have referred to the types of grave and habits of burial. It scarcely needs to be repeated that the rite was always inhumation; an occasional sporadic instance of cremation may be explained as the direct result of Greek settlement. In the sixth and fifth centuries the normal form of grave was either a trench lined with slabs or else a stone sarcophagus; but it was not of full length, as the Apulians were accustomed to bury their dead *rannichiati*, that is to say in the contracted position with the knees bent, according to the fashion of their neolithic ancestors. During the fourth century, as has been said, chamber tombs came into fashion in Daunia but not in other parts. In one district of Middle Apulia, extending perhaps over a wider area than has been supposed but never outside the country which was inhabited by the Peucetians, a totally different form of grave has

[1] Mosso in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 305; cf. *Apulien*, p. 29.

been found. This is a round barrow made of large and small boulders, under which the skeleton lay, either on the level of the ground or not more than half a metre down, within protecting slabs of stone set on edge. The smallest of these miniature tumuli measured five, the largest nine metres in diameter; their height was seldom more than one metre.

These graves had been completely plundered, but half a dozen bronze objects and a few sherds of pottery found in them make it possible to fix the date with some approach to accuracy. Two forms of fibulae occurred, viz. the spectacle type (p. 108, fig. 27), and the two-eyed serpentine (p. 156, fig. 46).

Unfortunately, each of these has a rather long chronological range, so that as dating factors they are ambiguous. But they would be quite in place in the seventh and eighth centuries, which would also be a natural dating for the bronze armlets, one of spiral wire and the other of sheet-metal, as well as a little bronze pendant in the form of two double-headed birds set one above the other. The pottery was plain rough monochrome, but one or two sherds painted with geometrical designs were also found.[1]

Barrows and Truddi. Question of Illyrian Connexion

On the negative side it may be observed that none of the regular geometric ware of the fully developed Peucetian school has been found in these barrows. This of itself suggests that they are older than the sixth century, and they may very well be assigned provisionally to the seventh and eighth. They do not extend as far north as the river Ofanto nor as far south as Taranto, but it was a mistake to state that they were limited to the inland regions, as later observations made since Jatta wrote his account show that they occur at various points along the coast in the province of Bari. No doubt they were once far more numerous than would appear from the scanty remains visible to-day; for thousands would inevitably be destroyed by any agricultural work. Jatta compares them to the tumuli of Istria, which sounds plausible, but the comparison is perhaps rather premature. After all, it is a stretch of language to term these simple little stone heaps 'tumuli'; they have not a very strongly marked specific character, there is almost no construction in them, and passably close analogies might be found in many places besides the head of the Adriatic.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Apulians, like all agriculturists who are tormented with a superabundance of loose stones, had to find some economic use for them. In modern days they have employed them to build their *Truddi*, circular structures containing several rooms, which are used as

[1] A. Jatta, in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxx, pp. 32–79. Cf. Mayer, *Apulien*, pp. 33–41.

dwellings. In one place not far distant from Bari there is an entire village of *Truddi*, and they are found singly or in groups over a wide area. From their primitive character and appearance the *Truddi* or *Trulli* have become the subject of daring hypothesis. But they are not ancient, no example can be shown to be even medieval; so that they must be regarded as the natural invention in quite modern days of a thrifty people who needed to clear their fields, and found that at the same time they could make good use of what had seemed to be waste material. Similarly, perhaps, their remote ancestors, for whom the digging of a trench-grave was no light task, spontaneously evolved the happy device of piling the stones over their dead. It is a natural idea; I have found it in stony parts of Africa, two or three thousand miles away, which have no possible connexion with the Adriatic.

In general I would urge that this fashionable hunt for ' Illyrian ' parallels to Apulian civilization should be pursued with a certain amount of caution and moderation. It is still too early to crystallize any theories while the Balkan countries are archaeologically almost unknown, and even Marchesetti's discoveries in Istria have been quite insufficiently studied. That Apulia had much intercourse and trade across the Adriatic at different times in the Iron Age is almost self-evident; that it was subject to periodical incursions and even to immigration on a large scale is exceedingly probable. But to locate these movements, to detect their points of origin, and to fix their dates is an exceedingly difficult and intricate task for which our present equipment of knowledge is entirely insufficient. So much progress has been made on the Italian side within the last twenty years that important results may be expected from a continuation of study and exploration. But it is useless to attempt to anticipate the results, and even a subconscious attitude of *parti pris* may harden theory into a wrong direction. The first necessity in any case is a thoroughly well-grounded scheme of chronology. This is only just being established for Apulia, it is uncertain in Istria, non-existent in the Balkans.

Not until the archaeology on both sides of the Adriatic has been placed on a firmer basis will it be possible to give much assistance to the historians in their perennial search for the origin and connexions of the races of Apulia. At present the study of the material civilization has not gone far enough to enable us to take any decided part in the debated questions that arise out of the conflicting statements of classical authors. Still perhaps the evidence brought forward in this chapter has contributed something to the solution of the problem, by giving a certain amount of character and personality to the three tribes known as Daunians, Peucetians, and Messapians.

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PRINTED IN ENGLAND AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY